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THE

EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS

OF 1848.

"The great inheritance of man is a commonwealth of blunders. One race spend their lives in botching the errors transmitted to them by another. The main cause of all political—*i. e.* all the worst and most general blunders—is this. The same rule we apply to individual cases we will not apply to the public. All men consent that swindling for a horse is swindling: they punish the culprit and condemn the fault. But in a state there is no such unanimity. Swindling! Lord help you, it is called by some fine name, and grows grandiloquent, and styles itself 'policy.' In consequence of this, there is always a battle between those who will call things by their right names, and those who pertinaciously give them the wrong ones."—Sir E. B. Lytton.

THE

EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS

OF 1848.

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a c.

BY

EDWARD STILLINGFLEET CAYLEY,

OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE

EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1848.

GERMANY.

"Au bruit de la révolution de Février, ils sont sortis de leurs méditations métaphysiques tout armés de savantes formules, de pompeuses abstractions: ils ont fait leurs évolutions de Mars, et, à la facilité avec laquelle leurs théories ont eu raison tout d'abord des fragiles obstacles que leur opposait à Frankfort, à Berlin, et à Vienne, le vieux droit, disons mieux le matérialisme de 1815, ils ont pu croire qu'ils allaient sans peine refaire de fond en comble leur patrie à l'image de la patrie de leurs rêves. Par malheur, après avoir renversé d'un souffle tout ce qu'il avait de factice et de faux dans l'ancien ordre de choses, ils se sont retrouvés en présence de la vérité historique, de la puissance des faits naturels."—*Annuaire des deux Mondes*, 1850.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF GERMANY SINCE THE PEACE.

In order to understand the movement of the German people and German states in the year 1848, two separate and distinct elements have to be taken into consideration: first, the causes which led the people to originate the movement, and, secondly, the motives which induced the kings and princes of the German race either to oppose or lead it. In considering the former, the habits, traditions, character, and education of the people will be found

to have been among the originating causes both of the undertaking and of its failure. In considering the latter, we must study the hereditary state policy of the separate governments into which Germany is divided, and it has been so divided since the days of Tacitus.

How comes it that a people of one race, speaking, at least among the upper classes, one tongue, and capable of uniting under a strong pressure from without to repel a common foe, have never succeeded in forming one nation? In the first place, though of one race, they do not speak one language: the cultivated German of literature and the educated classes is unintelligible to the common man. In the various districts of Germany the language of the people is scarcely German; it is a dialect of Platt Deutch, differing from German in its construction and inflections. The dialect of one province, it is said, differs from that of another in these respects, as it does from the cultivated German, and, in consequence, the inhabitant of one province is unintelligible to the inhabitant of another. Unlike dialects in this country, where the base and construction are the same—they are, in fact, separate languages, and the cultivated language is therefore, to most Germans, an acquired and foreign tongue. Its Latinized construction is a foreign element unknown to the peasant, and but ill adapted by the man of education—the elements of his speech are incongruous. The German people, then, may be of one race, but they are scarcely of one tongue. Even were they so, the fact of one race and one tongue is not sufficient to confer a distinct national existence on a people, else the Anglo-Saxon race in America would not have a nationality distinct and separate from ourselves.

The causes which tend to unite an accidental assemblage of men into a nation are much simpler and more practical. Men cease to exist as isolated individuals, and

give up a portion of their individual freedom, because they want each other's help. This is the origin of all states and all government. In a similar manner the smaller districts, which were the original governments, cluster together, and naturally form one state, as they want each other's help. A state so formed is a natural state. When, on the other hand, potentates or dreaming theorists set about dividing the map into separate nations without considering these circumstances, they draw a very neatly bounded kingdom or state on the map, but all their art cannot combine it into a nation—they cannot instil into it the love of country or the loyalty which are the characteristics of the subjects of real nations—they cannot create in them the community of interest or feeling by which the more naturally formed states are united.

Again, the hereditary principle is too important to be neglected. If a number of persons, who have for generations considered themselves as the subjects of a particular race of sovereigns to whom they may have been attached by a series of mutual good offices, suddenly find themselves assigned over to another sovereign, another government, another code of laws, without their opinions being asked on the question, it is not very probable, after the mutual obligation which loyalty supposes has been broken through by the sovereign, that it should be held sacred by the people; and when they find themselves interfered with by their new sovereign in their laws, language, habits, and religion, they do not with the most perfect good humour submit to be worked up so as to form for him a part of a homogeneous kingdom.

If, on the other hand, two countries are joined together by establishing a community of interest by interchange of commodities, or by supplying the one with labourers, or anything else suited to its wants, from the other, a really permanent union will arise, which will gradually unite

the two into one nation in their interests and their loyalty, even though they remain separate in their laws, thought, religion, and language.*

Many of the states of Germany, in like manner, are so far apart, there are so many parts, and each part of such different interests, that to make one nation out of it is impossible. The seacoast has an interest separate and different from that of the inland provinces—the Rhenish provinces from the eastern—the northern from the southern. The expense of land-carriage is so great that there is practically no interchange of goods between the one district and the other. Germany is not divided into agricultural and manufacturing districts, each needing and supporting the other. On the contrary, the very bounty of providence in rendering each district, and almost each family, self-supporting, and capable of producing nearly everything that it requires, has made it impossible to form from such elements a united nation. It may be possible, however, as history has shown, to unite them for a time for a common object to resist a common danger, because then they have for a time a community of interest; but, the danger having passed away, they relapse to their every-day interests and wants, and, these being different, they remain different peoples, and cannot possibly be united till a practical union of interests previously has taken place. Indeed, were the people from all parts of Germany to assemble together to discuss their interests, the common man of one part could not

* The Union of England and Scotland is an example of the latter. A union which, uniting the solid interests of each country, has left untouched their separate laws, language, social arrangements, and religion; and, by so doing, has produced of the two a nation perfectly united in its feelings and loyalty. The union of the Rhenish provinces to Prussia is an example of the former sort of union—a union which, without uniting anything, but putting two countries of different interests under one central government, has not joined them together, but has really created perpetual differences between them.

make him from another understand what he said or what he wanted.

On the expulsion of the French in 1815, the old Germanic empire which they had destroyed was not revived. Its place was taken by the Confederation of the Rhine. This consisted of thirty-six states, independent of each other. Austria was permanently president; Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Wurtemberg, Baden, Hesse-Holstein, numerous petty dukedoms, counties, and free-towns, were the members.

The Diet sat at Frankfort—some of the states were to have one vote each; the minor states, some half a vote, some a fourth of a vote. Altogether, there were seventeen votes. On constitutional questions, another mode of taking the votes was to prevail—giving a greater weight to the larger states. The princes only were represented in this diet; they bound themselves to form no foreign alliance individually against the body or any one of its members. Each state was to furnish a contingent of troops, and occupy the fortresses of Luxemburg, Mayence, Landau. The Diet was to sit permanently. On important questions, unanimity was required.

Constitutional government was promised to the various peoples—that is to say, some form of government in which some principle of parliamentary representation had some share. It is obvious, to an Englishman at least, that such a *form*, however theoretically excellent, is no safeguard to the people against real substantial slavery; while, on the other hand, personal freedom is frequently much greater under absolute despotism.

Personal freedom and the form of government have little connexion. The form of government does not in itself matter to any one, as long as he is let alone to do his own way. Our own rough-made, untheoretic, variously combined constitution, gives more practical liberty

than all the spick and span theoretic paper philosophic constitutions of the Continent.

In 1815, Germany was parcelled out into a number of separate kingdoms. The inhabitants of the countries given to each by the Congress of Vienna were not consulted. Their interests were in no way regarded. Hence they were not bound together by mutual interest or want of each other—they were mere accidental assemblages of people ruled over by separate sovereigns—kingdoms on the map, but not nations. These states were held together by military force, having been torn from other nations and rulers, to which they were attached by hereditary feelings, prejudices, and interests.

The victory which enabled the European powers to make this arrangement had been partly, at least, achieved by the temporary union of the whole German race to drive out the French. When Prussia was, after the peace of Tilsit, reduced to the position of a second-rate power by the loss of a great part of her territory, and the reduction of her army to a strength of 30,000 men, she revived the ancient landwehr or militia. By this means, although she had only a standing army of the nominal strength of 30,000, she was enabled, after the retreat of the French from Moscow, to bring into the field 200,000 combatants. The standing army was made only the school by which the whole of her adult population were trained to the use of arms. Such a course was, under the circumstances, a political necessity. By this means she succeeded in driving out her foreign invaders. At that time the whole people rose. It was a war of enthusiasm —all were animated by the common object. But when that great aim was accomplished, the system still continued. Every male capable of bearing arms is obliged to serve three years in the ranks of the regular army, and that at the period of life in which he would naturally be

just beginning his career in his trade or profession. No substitutes are allowed; when he has served his time, he is drafted off into the landwehr regiment of his district, which is called out every year for service. For a period of from six weeks to two months, he cannot remove from one district to another without being also transferred to another landwehr regiment; and as this transfer is a matter of favour, not of right, he is practically fixed in his own district, and unable to remove to where his presence may be more profitable to himself. Whatever his business, he is obliged to go out each year with his regiment; he is, in short, a soldier on leave, not a civilian.

The fact of having been obliged to serve three years in a regiment of the line, just at the time when he has finished his education and ought to be entering business, usually unfits him for habits of practical application. His annual compulsory service takes him away from his business for more than a seventh part of his time, without regard to his private engagements, however important. The consequences of this system are, that the regiments of the line are always composed of persons either just entering or just leaving the service. There is no *esprit de corps*. The officers gain no influence over the men, who are always changing. The men have no feeling of attachment to each other. The German is just embodied long enough to make him an indifferent citizen, and not long enough to make him an efficient soldier. In his landwehr regiment, he is not long enough in each year to keep up any military spirit,—not even as much as in our militia or yeomanry regiments. In a country where every man is a soldier, there is no distinction in the profession. Besides, it may happen that his officer in the landwehr regiment, who is at other times, like himself, a civilian, may be much his inferior in every other respect. Possibly he may be his own coachman or shoeblack. Such

a man is not likely to be obeyed with the ready alacrity which is essential to military efficiency. Such a body may on parade look like an army; but a heterogeneous compound like this cannot, under ordinary circumstances, be amalgamated into efficient troops for actual service.

Another evil connected with the landwehr service is the host of civil functionaries with which it burdens the country, who are engaged in enrolling and managing the affairs of the regiments. So numerous are civil servants of the government that they form a distinct class; they interfere in everything; no man can do anything without their supervision; government, through them, does everything for every man, and does it badly. No one is allowed to do anything for himself, even though he could do it well.

During the period of the first French revolution, the whole power of the ancient feudal nobility of France and Germany was destroyed: there was left no class like the peers and larger landholders of this country in existence. There was no intermediate power between the autocratic ruler and the people ruled. The two extremes of society existed, but the intermediate class was wanting. The one was too far apart from the other. The absence of such a body renders despotism, of one sort or another, inevitable, whether the tyranny of one or of many. This is no matter of opinion, but a matter of history. No despotic sovereigns existed till they had destroyed the power of their nobles. It was by the exertions of the nobles in this country that the foundations of English freedom were laid. It is the class of nobles, or gentry, that history demonstrates to be the origin of representative government. It was a great power in the state, independent of, and frequently opposed to, the sovereign. It assisted the people against the despotic sway of the prince, or the prince helped the people against the despotism of the

nobles. In either case, the people had some one who looked after their interests—not but that horrible cruelties were occasional, but they were practically far less burdensome than the systematic interference of the present continental governments. The great lord had a direct interest in the well-being of the people on his estates; and though he might be somewhat hard on them himself, he certainly would not let any one else injure them with impunity. He was, in fact, their natural hereditary leader, and, as such, their natural defender against every one but himself. If the acts of the sovereign were harsher than was usual, he, and many other such, led out their people, and either deposed the prince, or gave him much trouble to pacify them.

This was a rough but practical check on his whims. It is the beginning of representative mixed government; it is the only element from which it has been formed; and whether it can be formed from any other element, is still a problem. It is probably owing to the absence of a permanent and powerful intermediate body independent of the sovereign, that crowns fell and republics were unable to stand in the momentous convulsions of 1848. The want of such a class appears to have been seen by the continental sovereigns after the European settlement on the fall of Napoleon. They felt the want of their support, and made the attempt to supply their place by substituting for it whole squadrons of civil servants. Kingly power required some intermediate body. The ancient aristocracy had lost its influence and wealth; they substituted functionaryism in the place of it. In every conceivable department—in every interest, social, real, or imaginary—in law, police, religion, and education—in every branch of public or private business—in matters of theatrical amusements—in arts and sciences; in the right of personal

liberty to move from one parish to another—in trade and industry;—in short, in every possible matter in which meddling could be introduced, they introduced it. Nothing could be done without them—everything was made to contribute to the support of functionaries, who were centralized in bureaux, superintended, licensed, inspected, reported upon, and meddled with by a host of paid government agents, whose pay came from the public, whom they were employed to plague, without the smallest conceivable use, in any one of their multifarious operations. They are under a sort of half-military discipline. In some states they can, by their superior, be placed under arrest for breach of some functionary discipline or neglect of duty; in others, they cannot marry without the consent of their superior. The German governments have realized the maxim of making two-thirds of a people pay the most they can possibly pay for the benefit of the remainder. The functionaries are not for the benefit of the people, but the people for the benefit of functionaries.

The whole of this body, together with all the staff-clerks, expectants, and appurtenances whatsoever thereto belonging and appertaining, was created for the purpose of forming a class on whom the sovereign could rely. In the German kingdoms, it has been the policy of the state to destroy the influence of any individual who may have great estates or interest, by merging him in the civil or military functionary class. It was felt that a kingdom formed of incongruous elements was a kingdom on paper only, and wanted drilling and disciplining into some sort of unity. What have such a people to be loyal for?—for everything having been taken from them to which they were attached; their private liberties interfered with; their religion changed by despotic fiat; justice administered in closed courts; and not even hereditary tradition

to attach them to their rulers? It was thought that a class paid by the crown, and having perpetual intercourse with the people, would exercise an influence over them in political matters; but the expectation has been wofully disappointed. Functionaries will serve one master quite as willingly as another, and are a very convenient mode for whoever gets hold of the central power, oppressing the people by an organization ready made to his hand. The movements of the people, as far as the people themselves were concerned, were produced by a desire to get quit of this intolerable incubus, without the leave of which they could do nothing. Their passports, their education, their trade, their militia service, were all so many plagues superinduced by functionary interference: neither had the functionary class the political influence that was expected; for, in times of excitement, the people naturally regarded them as the paid agents of the crown. Thus they appear to have been a failure in both the objects for which they were created. They have betrayed their sovereigns, and are not trusted by the people. The people knew well enough that, whatever government was in possession of the central power—whether mock parliamentary, autocratic, or republican—as long as this host of functionaries existed, they could have no real freedom; and, after all, the common practical man knows better what freedom is than the dreaming, speculating, philosophical professor.

The feudal system was, undoubtedly, a burden on the people; but it has, in part, only been superseded by the functionary system, which is twice as burdensome. The feudal lord has been abolished; he was occasionally loyal to his sovereign, and had some interest in the welfare of his people, and none whatever in interfering with their private concerns, and no desire for meddling. It would have been a great trouble, and no use to him. His

place is now occupied by the stipendiary functionary, who is neither loyal nor trustworthy to his sovereign, nor has any interest in the people. The people have gained nothing whatever by the change. All the burdens they previously bore, they still bear; all the old abuses remained, and the change only introduced new ones. They have succeeded in putting Germany in leading-strings. Reduced to the necessity of never thinking for themselves, and having everything done by government, there is little turn for practical thought, and much for dreamy, impractical speculation.

In consequence of the enormous number of civil appointments in the hands of government, there exists a very numerous class of candidates and expectants of office, who dawdle away their time, dream, and speculate, and no way condescend to make themselves practically useful. A university education is an invariable qualification required for office: in consequence, every third young man in the middle class, just at the time in this country he would be put at the desk or in the counting-house, and taught his trade to enable him to get his living by his own industry, is sent to one of the universities: he is there taught by government professors; his mind is indoctrinated with speculative theories and elegant accomplishments, and nothing practical; and when he has done his education, he waits on fortune till he gets office, which, when got, does not give him often as good an income as a skilled workman in this country would obtain, and less independence. He is a man over-educated; his mind is filled with classics and philosophy; he cannot stoop to the vulgar necessity of practical work; he will not get his living by the sweat of his brow; and yet he is a man without any real education, in the true sense of the word. He is utterly unacquainted with the world. In this country, young men of the same class have been schooled in

the practical business of life, and get their education by experience. They have learned to know men and things in the counting-house or in the shop, and are, as respects their station in life, much better educated; and when ambition or chance has thrown them into another sphere, though not ranking, perhaps, among our first statesmen, they have not made a very discreditable figure. Their minds, trained in the school of real business, have grappled, not without success, with the political and social questions of the day. The absence of such men with knowledge of the world—the want of men in the habit of presiding in county meetings and in quarter-sessions—was the cause of the prattling imbecility of the Frankfort parliament. Had it been otherwise, it had in all probability left some permanent effect of some sort or other, instead of evaporating in smoke as thin and unsubstantial as its own visionary projects. Dreaming on till the German mind had almost overlooked its existence, it beheld its extinction with apathy.

Brought up to the same class of ideas by a single clique of professors, each individual is one of a class alike in views or in the absence of them. Government have created a monopoly of education in the hands of functionaries, and themselves suffer from the consequent scarcity of sense. The body of functionaries is contantly renewed and replenished by undergraduates of the German universities, the "Burschenschaft," as they ar called. The opinions of this class have ever since the formation of the Tugenbund in 1808, for the purpose of expelling the French, been the means of leading public opinion in Germany. From this class come all newspaper editors, professors, ministers of state, literary men, tax-gatherers, &c. How it came that a class so small in numbers, in proportion to the rest of the population, should have such an enormous influence on public opinion, is a

matter for serious reflection. The German governments, in order to support themselves, established a government monopoly of education, hoping thus to control public opinion to their own advantage. They succeeded in controlling public opinion, but much to their own inconvenience. The body of students at the German universities is by no means as numerous in proportion to the population as the body of students at the Scotch universities is to the people of Scotland: whence comes it that the one has scared the potentates and princes of the earth from their propriety, the other has no political influence whatever?

In Germany, the members of the universities are made a distinct class, exempt from ordinary laws and police. They are subject to different tribunals; their own professors are their judges, and can imprison and expel. From them alone can educated labour be supplied; they only are eligible for office; they have become an "*imperium in imperio;*" are imbued with a distinct "*esprit de corps;*" and look down very naturally on all who are not students. The student is called from his college, and set over men whom he looks on as a class different from his own; to administer laws which he never obeyed; to meddle with interests he does not understand; in short, he is put in a place to exercise his inexperienced hallucinations on the world, instead of being put in the world to gain experience, and have his crude ideas and childish conceits corrected by attrition against the real hard business of life.

In Scotland, on the other hand, the student belongs to no distinct class. Education is free; he is under no special code of laws; he is not taught to consider himself as different from his neighbours; he is often an apprentice or young farmer, following a course of lectures likely to be useful to him in his business. If he misconducts himself, he finds his ardent aspirations checked by the unpoetic policeman; he may find himself next morn-

ing at the bar of justice with a company of drunken tinkers, invaders of private property, pilferers of ducks and chickens, and a host of petty delinquents: his position of student in no way alleviates or aggravates this offence. He merely goes to the university to learn, because he can there learn what he wants more conveniently than elsewhere; but he is at perfect liberty to go elsewhere for his learning, if he can. Education is a free trade. There is no stereotyped opinion ready made for all comers. He may hear many different views, and has to use his own brains to ascertain the truth. He learns to think for himself, and independence of thought implies that he is capable of thinking and forming conclusions from practical facts brought under his notice. Such a man is incapable of becoming a mere visionary. He is educated as a man of business. He merely belongs to the university, because there is a good market for educated labour; and he purchases his education in the best market, and is a more useful shopboy, clerk, or apprentice, or farmer, than he would have been without it.

A university degree is fortunately in this country no qualification for office, nor are many of our most distinguished men of science university men. Oxford and Cambridge honours are not held to be indications of capabilities of governing men. Man is not ruled by equations, nor is Greek considered to constitute wisdom; colonies are not governed by iambics, nor is philosophy held to be sense. In Germany, on the other hand, the student, after leaving the university, does not condescend to go into trade; it does not occur to him that there is any obligation to seek to do his duty in that state of life to which it has pleased God to call him. He is a man of refined tastes and letters, and cannot condescend to help at managing his father's shop. Classics are incompatible with tallow-chandlery; Greek has no affinity for grocery; phi-

losophy has no connexion with farming; nor the binomial theorem with tile-draining. He condemns himself to a useless existence, waits for official appointment (and he must wait long, because for every vacancy that occurs there are more than two persons always qualified to fill it), dreams, speculates, writes of what he does not know, and his existence becomes alike troublesome to himself and to government. He is in general an accomplished smatterer; what he has acquired has been diluted and cooked for his easy digestion. The crowbar of industry has not been strained by him to burst from rocks of experience the golden grain of truth. That which has cost him little trouble in the getting is lightly squandered. Real education is the formation and training of the mind. To train the mind requires hard, patient, and independent thinking and work; the mere crude teaching a youth a bundle of facts which he acquires with no labour, and only retaining, neither digests nor assimilates, is no training at all; they no way nourish his mind, but, deposited there, are utterly as raw and undigested as he swallowed them. He may be a full man, but it is the fulness of a bottle, which will pour out what has been previously poured in, whether vinegar or claret; he may be a convenient depositary of other men's thoughts,—he may have sufficient capacity for holding them,—but to call such a man educated is a misuse of terms, and to trust men to his superintendence is a misuse of humanity; he plunges into the arena of politics, the sea of literature, or the fury of a revolution, unchecked by any glimmering suspicion of his own folly, and hurls thrones to the ground, sees the people massacred, and Europe in conflagration, without feeling compunction or remorse; he is as insensitive as a bottle or a bag: take away what it is filled with, and what remains?

Compare such a person with a man educated in Eng-

land. No doubt the man to begin with is different in his habits and vitality. The athletic, active, and hearty young English gentleman, brought up partly in a public school and partly in the country sports of his native county, is hardy and robust, capable of great bodily exertion, his whole constitution glowing with healthy vigour, his form erect, his frame like iron, his hand like a lady's, and his arm like a crowbar. The German—lazy, deficient in muscular energy, his bloodvessels half empty, neither exercising nor washing himself—is a fit receptacle for vapourish humours. If the Englishman has learned nothing else at the university, he has learned to know men and things; he has met other men, brought up in their families in different habits and opinions from his own; he is called on to defend his own, or he attacks his neighbour's; he learns that upon most subjects there are two or more ways of thinking. This fact alone induces him to use his own head to a certain extent. If he is not much better for such a course, at all events he is not made dangerous to his country by it.

On the other hand, there are always a number who use the universities for the more legitimate purposes of work. A man who reads hard, does not learn anything practically useful or amusing. Few things are perhaps, in these days, practically more useless than a knowledge of Latin and Greek; pure mathematics do not often serve any purpose in after-life; but these are hard, dry, uninteresting matters to master, and men do master them from sheer pluck and determination. First rate men it is difficult to spoil by any plan; but the ordinary run of young men who take a degree, because it is discreditable not to be able to do so, master subjects distasteful to them, and which require hard application. This is an excellent training: a mind so educated is able to concentrate its powers on any subject. When such a per-

son in after-life comes to make the first grand discovery a man makes that he is ignorant, he finds that he is at once able to apply vigorously and with ease, from the training he has previously gone through, to any subject he wishes to acquire. He has learned how to learn. On the German system, he has been filled with a great appearance of superficial knowledge. He is much more amusing and intelligent when he has done his university career; but he, alas, never discovers his deficiency in graver matters, and is fated to remain the greater part of his life a mere dabbler. How is it possible for him to be anything else? He devotes not half the time to the acquiring of an abstruse science that is wanted to teach a blacksmith's boy how to forge a horseshoe. Those who come from our universities have no stereotyped set of opinions. They are just as many on the one side as on the other, as often on the ministerial benches as on those of the opposition. They form no distinct class—they have no privileges—they are mere citizens, and many of them become distinguished ones; but they are individuals, not a body. This is the reason that, though on an average they are from a higher grade of society, and their individual influence perhaps greater in the guidance of their country than in Germany, yet as a body, they have no influence whatever. The consequences of the German system have shown themselves to be, to render the universities the hotbeds of civil commotion—the powder magazine which explodes the rest of society.

The social habits and the domestic economy of a people are an important element in their political cravings. Though they may not be causes, they are very important symptoms. The difference between the domestic habits of the continental man and the Englishman is precisely what one might anticipate from their different educational institutions; the one is theoretical, the other practical.

On the Continent, one finds in the houses many articles of the greatest elegance, of great beauty of design, and of the most refined taste, but one finds few articles of solid practical comfort. The beauty of the manufactures is great, but they are not suited to ordinary life. The carpet manufactories of France produce fabrics which vie with the world, but the French as a people live in rooms with sanded or at any rate uncarpeted floors. Many of the classes in this country would never dream of dispensing with such an article of indispensable comfort, on the Continent, where a much superior article can be had. They have no taste for the solid comfort, but only for ornament: here comparatively few objects of mere ornament are to be found in the house; but the kitchen is well stocked with pots and pans; there is on the shelves an abundant supply of crockery, the rooms are carpeted, and even in the cottage the whole attention of the female part of the inhabitants is directed to solid practical comfort and cleanliness. In short, the people here are much better off—they are more civilized. They may be—the labouring class especially—more ignorant, but their tastes and habits are on a higher social scale. Even their ignorance is not a want of education. In all that concerns their trade, they are really the more intelligent of the two.

This practical turn of mind is an English characteristic, and is one of the most stable elements of our constitution, and it is much more important than at first appears to national prosperity. The taste for practical comfort involves the consumption of an infinite number of articles, produced by a vast number of ordinary craftsmen. There is a steady consumption of produce; there is a regular demand for labour. This taste employs a much greater number of hands to gratify it than the taste for mere articles of elegance and ornament of equal value, which, when once made, are permanent, and which consequently require only a select body

of highly skilled workmen to produce them. The consequence of the want of taste for articles of every-day comfort is, that they are scarce and clumsy: the ordinary unskilled labourer is ill employed. The working man in Germany has other and more palpable grievances; his three years in a regiment of the line, and his yearly drilling and inspection in the landwehr, make him a bad citizen, but his short service does not make him a good soldier: the state loses in both ways. Then the government which has trained him is so afraid of losing him, that he is restricted by functionaries, inspected by functionaries, watched by functionaries; he cannot move unless functionaries permit him; he is, in fact, made a piece of property, of which the state disposes as it sees fit. He is really a slave without the name: he is a slave to the most inconvenient of masters. Under ordinary circumstances, a slave who has a good master is not the most unfortunate person in the world, but the one who has a very bad one is. In this case, the master is neither very good nor very bad, but merely troublesome.

The physical well-being of the English working man is unquestionably higher than that of the continental one. He is better clothed, better fed, and his bodily force better developed. On the other hand, the continental man perhaps has more amusement. His pleasures consist of the public places of recreation, where all classes mix on much easier terms than with us, but his domestic comforts are much smaller. He is not ambitious—he cannot rise from the class he is born in to a higher rank. Owing to the monopoly of the university graduates of all state employment, he cannot hope to raise himself to an influential position in the state. Successful industry does not, as with us, lead to anything more than an easier existence. Hence, perhaps, the absence of the energetic perseverance which here constantly raises a man from very small beginnings to a position of political consideration. The stimulus

of ambition is altogether wanting. That the easy indolence of the German populations is not favourable to physical development, is shown by the great proportion of persons rejected from the military service from bodily deformity: so far has this gone, that government has thought it necessary to introduce into the public schools athletic exercises, in order to infuse vigour into the constitutions of the pupils. It seems to us singular that the boy should not of himself have sufficient vitality to run, jump, and exercise his muscles. Somehow man does not thrive in tea-gardens on coffee and tobacco smoke; nor does dependence for everything on government, the want of necessity of looking after his own interest, and trusting to his own free judgment, make a man capable of great things. Hence, perhaps, the very small share or interest taken by the people themselves in the movement of 1848; but they were easily made a tool of. These social elements must be borne in mind in considering the agitation which then took place.

Although the enthusiastic loyalty attributed to Germans by a mendacious press is much exaggerated, the Germans are a loyal people, and are much more attached to their reigning families than the English. They will submit to much more government than we would. Shortly after the settlement of Europe in 1815, it occurred to some of the German potentates that uniformity in religion was desirable. The Protestants were divided into Lutherans and Calvinists; the two churches had in the course of ages become much less hostile; they were going on side by side very quietly; time had rubbed off many of their harsher edges, a compromise was effected by the government; which had the effect of rousing their hostility against itself. The constitution of the Calvinist church especially was considered too democratic for absolute states. Government proscribed the name of Protestant, established a new church;

appointed bishops, and called it Evangelical; imprisoned the clergy who refused obedience to ceremonies and liturgies repugnant to both their creeds, and converted the people by putting troops in free quarters among the nonconformists to the state church; and this in kingdoms not six years old. A step more imprudent, and likely to alienate the affections of a people, could scarce have been devised. Such an attempt here would, as it once did before, have changed the reigning family. But it succeeded more or less in Germany: compliance was forced, but it had a deeper effect in weakening the influence of religion among the people. How could the state appeal to the religious feelings for support, when it had violated them all? This change was carried on quietly, and without Europe generally being aware of what was being done. But the seed then sown bore fruit in 1848. It is beyond the power even of autocracy to implant a new religion in the place of one torn up by the roots: it can destroy, but not create. Things went on smoothly for a time, but the outbreak came at last. The forced suppression of Ronge's German Catholic Church, which originated in the disputed authenticity of the Holy Coat of Treves, was another element of discontent. There is no doubt that from these causes arose much of the insubordination which then endangered the existence of every government in Germany. It was only wonderful that, with such provocation, the explosion was so long in coming, not that it came at last.

The agitation for a German nationality has been going on since the expulsion of the French. It appears to have originated in a dream of certain liberal professors, at the head of whom is reckoned Arndt. Curiously enough he was by birth a Swede, but he began the cry for a German fatherland, being employed by the Prussian government to write pamphlets and flying-sheets against the French. But in the pride of victory, the German sover-

eigns forgot the principles, the existence of which had given them that victory. They divided up Germany without regard to the wishes or interests of the German race. By so doing, they went far to extinguish the feeling of loyalty of the German people to themselves. Arndt, who had been given a professorship at Bonn in reward of his exertions, was a few years afterwards suspended and imprisoned for propagating his ideas on German nationality, for which very principles he had only a few years before been given his professorship. This German nationality is a dream of professors and functionaries and expectants of office, and all the learned, half-educated classes of Germany. Through the press they preached a crusade in its favour, without any regard to the truth of their statements or the reality of the cause. But the people never had any real wish for the German unity that their philosophers raved about. After the sham parliament of Frankfort, which shook all kings and princes from their propriety, had wasted their time in ridiculous discussions, and avoided carefully doing anything practical for nearly two years; after they had talked a prodigious deal of nothing more than any body of men in all Europe; after the press had teemed with enthusiastic articles, representing popular excitement to be at its height, in order to assist the Schlesvig-Holstein army, 700 volunteers were all that could be obtained from forty millions of men, burning as they were represented to be with the highest enthusiasm for German nationality; and the vulgar inducement of ten dollars bounty was resorted to to fill up the ranks to reinforce a cause for which, more than any other, Germany was supposed to be enthusiastic.*

The only real enthusiasm was that of the press. It is not an uncommon complaint here, that literary men have not the rewards and consequence they meet with on the

* See Laing's "Notes of a Traveller," and "Denmark and the Duchies."

Continent. It is true we are not here in the habit of turning a newspaper editor into a prime minister: we do not consider literary accomplishment as a qualification of a statesman. An English house of parliament may not contain men of the same acquirements as the Paulus Kirche at Frankfort, but it contains men of all ranks, from the peer to the bagman, men who have buffeted through the practical business of life, and are far less crotchety, visionary, and absurd. A dispute with us is usually on some real question, and not on some mere speculative opinion. It is very natural that literary men should complain—perhaps every person has a natural right to grumble—but in fact we do not observe that mere men of letters are very successful statesmen. A power of language and a power of pen are no doubt mighty engines, and they are too often wielded by the hands of untried men. It is easy for a man of letters from his garret to attack princes and potentates of the earth, for the difficulties of whose position he makes no allowance, and would in all human probability himself, if he tried his hand, do much worse. It is natural that the inexperienced youth who writes dashing leading articles, without any responsibility whatever, should grumble that he is not universally considered the important person he thinks himself: hence arises a sort of discontented republican spirit, much pervading the lower orders of literature. These tendencies are common to literary men all over the world: literature is a very laborious profession—few undertake it who could do without it for their bread. They are in a greater position in one respect than in another—the same person is listened to respectfully in a leading article, who would be snubbed immediately in the House of Commons, or by a party of middle-aged gentlemen over their port; hence they mope and are discontented. In this country a certain sense of right and wrong—a sense of decency and of religion, keeps them

within some limits; but it is very different in Germany. The neglect of the religious element in the education of the people—the sending a child to be taught his religion as if it were a lesson of dancing or fiddling, is unlikely to make him consider Christian behaviour as his rule of life; nor was the contempt of religious feeling shown by the continental governments, in the forced union of the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches, and in the forced suppression of Ronge's Catholic church, likely to inspire the people with strong religious feelings. After all, in spite of philosophy, it is religion which teaches men what is right and what is wrong; it is the great balance of states.

In the year 1848, a phrase much used, although happily now nearly extinct, an object much set up for people to worship, was the "solidarity of peoples:" what it meant, those who invented it know best. It is not improbable that it never had any meaning at all, like many other phrases of the kind that folks have fought about.*

The character of the late King of Prussia has had an important influence in the discontents of his people. The forced union of the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches —the imposition upon them of all the scenery and brilliancy of popish worship, utterly at repugnance with the

* It is a great pity that mankind do not make it a rule to understand the *thing* they are quarrelling about, before proceeding to the disagreeable and uncivilized extremity of cutting each other's throats. It is very humiliating to reflect that many of the most desperate battles have been fought, and many of the bloodiest persecutions perpetrated, from a simple misuse of words, and from the opposite parties not defining clearly *what* they meant. It is curious to find, after a severe conflict, that one's opponent and one's self have been all the while agreed on the *thing*, but have only differed in the mode of expressing it. The ingenious gentleman who called out his friend, and shot him for declaring that he could not have seen *anchovies* growing in a garden, and in walking home afterwards, mentioned to his second—"And sure, wasn't it *capers* I meant all the while?" is only an illustration of a too ordinary folly. There are causes enough of evil in the world without people setting themselves by the ears to defend or attack unintelligible and undefined words. "Vox et præterea nihil" has, in religion and politics, drawn the life-blood of mankind.

feelings of the clergy and the people,—the imprisonment, expulsion, and exile of the clergy refusing obedience,—and the quartering of dragoons on the people, to labour in the work of conversion, was perhaps the last religious persecution in Europe. It was of a piece with the rest of the king's character. He appears to have been a pedantic autocrat. On the expulsion of the French, he had promised his people (who had by the force of their arms borne him triumphantly to the throne, and swept his foes from the land) a parliamentary constitution. He never performed that promise. The word of a king should never be broken: no doubt his best defence is, that the people did not understand, or in fact care for it—that is, the bulk of them did not—it was only the dream of a body of idle professors and noisy undergraduates. That his people had no common interests—not even a common language—that the one part could scarce understand the other, if the people, not the bureaucracy, was really represented—that the legislation would be a perpetual conflict among the interests of the different provinces of his kingdom if the people were there; in short that the people themselves were not fit for such an institution. If such were his reasons, experience has demonstrated the truth of them. But the defence is not complete: all this would have been an excellent reason for not promising, but a very insufficient one for not performing. If he had had any real wish to make his people free, the thing might have been accomplished, not by giving them a cut and dried constitution—such things do on paper but nowhere else—but by teaching them to take care of themselves, and not to trust to government superintendence. If they had learned to manage themselves first, and their own local affairs—the steps to representative government would have been not so impracticable. The people of the Continent might become freemen yet, if they knew what freedom was, and went the right way to

work to obtain it. To get it, people must begin at the beginning. A nation, as well as a child, requires an interval between the state of leading-strings and the emancipation of manhood.

Instead of the policy of gradually developing the capacity of his people to the state of freemen, he did his best to hamper them with more functionaries, more military service, and to drill them into more rigid lines than they had been drilled in before. He not only interfered in their religion, but restricted still more their personal freedom. Had there not been a great mass of real grievance, all the newspaper squibs and paper pellets of the brain would never have roused the people of Germany to the excitement of 1848, however short its duration, however unreal and impracticable its objects. Not only was the king intent on ruling the persons of his subjects according to his own ideas; he took in hand the censorship of the press; waged war against and proscribed the productions of this or that author, or the publications of such a particular publisher, with all the acrimony of private pique and personal malignity. The speculative tendency of the German people arises greatly from the whole of the middle or functionary class depending on university education for its position. Their peculiar privilege is to think, or to hear what other people think. Hence they resent any check on the freedom of thought as bitterly as we should any much more practical grievance. It is to them a much greater annoyance than any check on their personal freedom. They know, from experience, that the one is worth something; they have no experience at all in the latter. Hence the interference with freedom of the press, and the imposition on the people of a liturgy and church of which the king himself was in great part the compiler, restraining the natural freedom of their thoughts, were most deeply resented. The people brooded in silence over their dis-

content; many were driven to emigrate; thousands of villagers were expelled from their homes, and are now settled in the United States of America, where they enjoy the free exercise of the religion of their forefathers; and as to the proscription of this or that work, it made the author's fortune; no such efficient advertisement was ever invented. By intermeddling in all things himself, and descending into the minutiæ of lawgivers, he set small things in order, but he left great ones in no order at all. His were all the characteristics of a little mind in a great position and in great power; obstinate and pragmatical, seeing only things close to him, and consequently seeing them only in part, he was unable to obtain the comprehensive view which is essential to comprehensive legislation. His career was such as to leave his people, at his death, in much the frame of mind that James did his on the accession of Charles the First; the materials were prepared for an explosion—the spark only was wanting. The French revolution of February furnished it.

One of the ties which had contributed to the popularity of the crown, or rather rendered the unpopularity less vehement, was the devotion of the people to their heroic queen, whose sufferings during the French usurpation, whose death hastened by her sufferings in the cause of Germany, in the people's own cause, had endeared her and all that belonged to her to them. No doubt some of this popularity was reflected on her husband; but when she died, when he who was flattered by literary sycophants for his unsmiling, woe-begone countenance and perpetual grief, was made a sentimental hero among princes, consoled himself for her loss by the vulgar expedient of a mistress, their indignation knew no bounds. A morganatic or mock-marriage, the children of which would be bastards, with the woman he created the Coun-

tess of Lignitz, and the attention paid her by the royal family, completed their disgust.

It was a sacrilege to fill the place of their beloved queen by so unworthy an occupant; it was a profanation of the evangelical Church to use its ceremonies for such a union; and it was not an age when the feeling of decency and religion can be outraged with impunity by crowned heads any more than by their subjects. "The king can do no wrong," means rather that he ought to do none, than that what he has done may not be wrong, legally and morally.

The German tricolor flag, black, red, and yellow, was first adopted by some students in October 1817, who met to celebrate the third centenary of the Reformation—a set of colours alternately proscribed as treasonable and decking the helmets of kings. To what vile uses may they come at last!

The King of Prussia had, however, accomplished one great thing on which his heart was set, and which had done more really to unite the Germans into a people than all the flags and ribands in the universe. He had united the greater part of Germany into a custom's league, or Zollverein, by which each separate state did not, as heretofore, take custom duties itself, to the interruption of the internal trade of the country, but the whole league levied duties at their joint outside, and then shared the revenue in reasonable proportions. This arrangement did more to unite the interests of the German people than much declamation on the "solidarity of peoples." Austria, however, would not join the league. Her finances, exhausted by the wars of Napoleon, had not sufficiently recovered to enable her to adopt a low rate of customs; indeed, to extricate herself from her embarrassment, she had depreciated her paper currency from 100 at par value, first to 20, and then to 8, by which means she paid off debts of £100 with £8; at least she said she had, and would not pay any more. Austria was the head of one system,

Prussia of another; hence, in part, the rivalry between the two. Austria was no longer the head of the German empire. The Emperor of Austria was not Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire; the house of Hapsburg, and the royal family of Bavaria, had, in turn, attained that imperial dignity. Why not the Prussian monarch? There was a perpetual intriguing, of one sort or another, on this subject among the German diplomatists; but Prussia could not hope for the support of the Papist faction, and had herself alienated the Protestant by proscribing the very name. The only subject on which she and Austria, under the rule of Prince Metternich, agreed, was in despotism: the attempt to reduce their heterogeneous elements into a homogeneous compound—an attempt which could succeed by no means but by force. This attempt had, at the beginning of the outbreak of 1848, alienated the German national party from Prussia. The new King of Prussia was nearly as autocratic as the old. The old system had, more or less, continued almost up to the last moment; but the ambition of the monarch—the object of the imperial crown—induced him, after the first explosion showed that to move was inevitable, to place himself at the head of the movement; otherwise, were the scheme of a united Germany to have succeeded—if Prussia were not the head—she would be in the position of a dependent power. The King of Prussia would have a superior in the Emperor of Germany. Prussia is, from her position, the only maritime part of Germany, and, from circumstances, being the great manufacturing power of Germany, might very legitimately hope to be the head of a new German empire, if one was formed. It was the second great state in Germany in actual power; but the autocratic policy of the king, up to the eleventh hour, up to the very brink of the precipice, had rendered him singularly ineligible.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE REVOLUTION OF MARCH TO THE DANISH INVASION, AND FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE DANISH WAR TILL NOVEMBER 1850.

THE King of Prussia, in 1847, had established a long-promised Diet, which he had promised should meet periodically. It had been constructed with considerable skill and attention, and paid strict regard to the legal rights of the different parties concerned, and the forms long established. It contained none of the pet theories of demagogues; it represented neither numerical majorities nor universal suffrage; it was neither uniform nor theoretic; but it was practical and historical. And though the mysticism of German philosophy rendered it unacceptable to them, there is no doubt whatever that that constitution established and contained more of the elements of genuine freedom than any which have been since substituted in its place.

These elements rendered it peculiarly obnoxious to the theoretical democratic party, who have covered it with every abuse. That it was perfect, no one expected; that it had antiquated forms that might want amendment, was true; but its very antiquity, the fact of its being more a

revival than a creation, constituted its element of stability, and gave a raw material on which to go to work. But with the purely theoretic democratic constitutions, the moment they go wrong, they have not strength enough in themselves to bear mending. The Diet had already brought forward several parliamentary leaders of importance, and would probably have ripened into something like a permanent practical form; but it was not to be. On the 6th of March, its session was closed.

The French revolution of February, the flight of Louis Philippe and the fall of the throne of the barricades, and the proclamation of a republic, had kindled from one end to the other of Europe the enthusiasm of the republican party. The conflagration rapidly extended itself. The Rhenish provinces of Prussia, whose near neighbourhood and former connexion with France made them more peculiarly combustible, broke out with a cry for the most extensive reforms; that is to say, for representative institutions, the passion for which had spread over the whole of Germany. They were the universal panacea for all the evils they endured. The existence of the evils was unquestionable, the appropriateness of the remedy is liable to doubt: it will be seen in the sequel whether the doubt is well founded.

The reform fever which had attacked the Rhenish provinces quickly spread to the rest of the body politic. The urban populace—a class in all countries rarely incited to agitation—took the lead. They were headed by the students. Breslau, Königsberg, and Berlin, were in violent commotion. In the month of March, a great open air meeting was held at Berlin: it ended in a riot. The troops were called out to act against the mob. For near a week Berlin was in a state of chronic disturbance. The troops acted with great firmness. The mob gathered together, but did not show much fight; but they were dispersed

with difficulty, and continued to offer a passive resistance to the soldiers. On the 15th, ten persons were said to have been killed, and over a hundred wounded. At the same time, similar scenes were being enacted at Breslau and Königsberg, where several persons lost their lives. A deputation from the Rhenish provinces arrived at Berlin on the 18th, bearing a petition from Cologne to the king for reform. He promised to grant it; but they reminded him that similar promises had been so often made and that nothing had come of them, that they could not and would not wait any longer; and that if the king did not at once proclaim a representative government, the Rhenish provinces would join themselves to some other state that would. Now, whether it was that the king feared the loss of his province, or that the phantom of a distant imperial crown had dawned on his imagination, or whether he was moved by both or neither of these considerations, none know but himself. But upon this hint he spoke. Finding he could not keep the movement in check, he resolved to put himself at the head of it. It was probably the only course open to him, if he would preserve his crown. After all, a sovereign has no real interest in governing otherwise than as a people wish him.

It is difficult to understand the pleasure of despotism otherwise than as it places a man in a position to do more good to his fellow-men than another. No doubt people do not unfrequently wish for things that a prudent man would see must end in mischief to them; but if he has not the power to prevent them, the responsibility is off his shoulders. It is not often now-a-days that the most autocratic sovereign has any end in view but the ultimate good of his people: the mistake is, he takes his way instead of theirs. Very possibly his may be the better of the two; but if they do not think so, it is the worst. It is the very mistake of Robespierre and the leaders of the first French

republic. All obstacles must give way to their ideas of right. There is no reason in forcing folks to go their king's way instead of their own, even though their good be the ultimate object. It may be perfectly legitimate to persuade people of what is for their interest, but to force them is illegitimate; and what is more, it is quite useless, because they may be led, but they will not be driven.

The king must have previously had the questions which were agitating Germany under careful consideration; for he at once published a proclamation embodying the whole of them: the unity of Germany, by forming it into a federal state, with a federal representation; representative institutions for the separate states; a general military system for all Germany, under one federal banner; a German fleet; a tribunal for settling disputes between the states, and a right for all Germans to settle and trade in any part of Germany they thought fit; the whole of Germany formed into one customs union, and included in the Zollverein; one system of money, weights, and measures; and the freedom of the press. These were the subjects touched upon. How far a German unity, if practicable, would be compatible with the existence of separate states, is a question to which it is not very easy to find a satisfactory answer. How far the right of all Germans to settle where they liked in Germany was compatible with the landwehr service, and the monopolies purchased and paid for in the towns, is also a difficulty. But it was not the practical nature of the proclamation, but its popularity, that was important at that moment: if the people believed it practicable, it was enough. The popularity of the proclamation with the mob-leaders was unbounded, and the mob shouted. Every line of it contained their own ideas, vigorously expressed. Their delight was proportionate to their astonishment. A crowd got together at the palace to express their gratitude; the king came

out of a window, and was loudly cheered. Two regiments of dragoons unluckily mistook the cheering for an attack, and began pushing them back by forcing their horses forward. This operation of pushing back the populace was going on as peaceably as the thing might be. The soldiers thought the palace was attacked, and it certainly was not a very hostile manner of repulsing an attack. But they had no orders from the king to do so. Unfortunately, as the conflict (if conflict it could be called, which was only a bout of which could push hardest) was going forward, two musket-shots were fired by a regiment of infantry. It appears that the muskets went off accidentally. No one was injured by them. It is not clear they were not blank cartridges; but the people took fright. They imagined that there was a design to slaughter them. At once they rushed to arms: barricades were thrown up in every street of all sorts of materials; a cab with the fare inside was made use of for one, and the fare not extracted till the town was pacified. When the barricade was taken down, he put his head out of the window, and coolly requested that the door might be opened. Sharpshooters placed themselves in the windows and behind the barricades, and opened a fire on the soldiery. These, exasperated by what they thought an unfair species of fighting, were by no means unwilling for the fray. There was an ancient feud between the military and the Berlin townsfolk. There was the jealousy of class against class, if there was no other species of jealousy at the bottom of it, which is not improbable. Consequently, without orders from any one, they took the present opportunity in order to gratify their own private heartburnings—popular license on the one side, military pride on the other.

"Jam serpentum major concordia."

The troops carried barricade after barricade, and gave no quarter even to the unresisting. As they took the houses,

they slaughtered all the sharpshooters they found in them, not very accurately discriminating those engaged in hostilities from those who were not. Horrible cruelties were committed on both sides: such is unfortunately usually the case in civil tumult—neither age nor sex is spared.

The fight raged for fifteen hours. Either the king lost his head when it began, or the troops, having their blood up, would not stop. There was nothing to fight about but the mutual exasperation of the combatants. It is to be presumed that the authorities would endeavour to put an end to it as soon as they could. The firing began at two o'clock on the 18th of March, and the authorities succeeded in withdrawing the troops and stopping it the next morning at five o'clock, they having been during that time successful at all points. The troops had carried barricade after barricade with the utmost gallantry. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the firing of the people on the troops was a very dangerous precedent, and did require exemplary punishment. That the troops were to blame in fighting is another matter: officers and soldiers are not the less men. When men are put in fear of life and limb, they have an innate right to defend themselves, even though they be attacked by a profligate, democratic rabble, quite as good as the said rabble have to defend themselves against the attack of troops, if not better. It is a question whether in the long-run it would not have been better for the advance of civilisation and of liberal institutions if the troops had finished the work they had begun; whether the horror of the immediate bloodshed, which induced the king to stop them, was not an amiable weakness. The success of an armed populace against the military has ended frequently in revolutionary fury and in military despotism. When the fighting has really begun, it is very questionable whether it is not more merciful in the authorities to act in the first instance in good earnest, rather than, by attempting to spare

blood, succeed in steeping the state in the wildest anarchy, and, in the long-run, to cause the spilling of very much more blood than would have been necessary, had the riot not been allowed to spread into a revolution.

Be this as it may, there was no real cause for the troops and the people fighting except their own will and pleasure. The crown interfered; and if it was unwise, the unwisdom was on the side of immediate humanity. The troops were withdrawn, and the people were allowed to have their own way. They had got a severe lesson, and appear to have been aware that it was their own fault; for the king put out a manifesto at seven o'clock, declaring that the whole business arose from an unlucky misunderstanding between the troops and the people, as it unquestionably did, and the people appear to have been aware of the fact and ashamed of themselves. The king entreated mutual forgiveness and oblivion on both parts. The explanation was accepted, and they gathered together to the palace to ratify the past. The king, at eleven o'clock, came out on a balcony, and was very warmly greeted. The inhabitants of Berlin did not appear to have sufficiently advanced in democratic ideas to believe, that whatever good happens to a people, it is the virtue of the people; whatever evil they do is the fault of their king. They were aware that the outbreak the day before was not, in fact, the king's doing, but their own. They were aware that the king might have taken much more advantage of it than he did had he wished, and they were not disposed to undergo another similar lesson.

Afterwards the king came down into the square, consented, very foolishly, to putting arms in the hands of the mob, confided himself to their safeguard, and as a procession bore dead bodies by, he uncovered his head and spoke some words of deep-felt grief at what had happened. The people responded to the feeling. A general amnesty was

proclaimed for all parties concerned, and orders were given to form at once a burgher guard to supply the place of the military, who were to be withdrawn. A new ministry was appointed, of a liberal character, which included men of the middle-class who had rendered themselves conspicuous in the last year's Diet by their eloquence.

The troops were marched out of the town, and were cheered by the people, who admired their bravery, even though it had been exerted against themselves. Besides, the desire of being rid of them, it is not unlikely, added to the heartiness of the cheers. The troops left the town with colours flying and drums beating.

During the conflict, the Royal Foundry and the Artillery Barracks had been reduced to ashes; but, on the whole, less damage had been done to private property than might have been anticipated: only a few private houses and shops of those peculiarly obnoxious to the mob were injured. The insurgents had written up everywhere, "Respect the property of the citizens," and the injunction was generally obeyed; but whether the citizens were actuated by patriotism or their own interests, is another question. In consequence of this inscription, the palace of the Prince of Prussia, who was very unpopular, was spared. He was generally believed to have urged the court to harsh measures, and to refuse all concessions. His presence was supposed to cause irritation; and in order to get him quietly out of the way, he was despatched on a secret mission to the Queen of England.

It is estimated that, of the populace, about 200 were killed: 187 received a public funeral. No accurate account of the wounded can be obtained. The number of slain was at first much exaggerated. Considering the length of the conflict and the multitudes engaged, the number does not appear very large. Of the troops, according to the official returns, there fell 3 officers and 17

non-commissioned officers and privates; of wounded there were 14 officers, 14 non-commissioned officers, and 225 privates, and 1 surgeon.

The result of the conflict of the 18th March was to leave the king in the position of having been beaten, without really having been so. He had withdrawn his troops from the city, in order to prevent the effusion of blood; he had intrusted himself to the armed multitude, and the new Burgher guard, who were henceforward at entire liberty to be as revolutionary as they pleased: they were enrolled to preserve order, but signally failed in doing so.

The king's object was to divert popular enthusiasm into another channel; he therefore assumed the lead in the regeneration of Germany. On the 21st he issued a proclamation, enlarging on these views, and rode through the streets with the proscribed German tricolor on his helmet, and was vociferously cheered as he passed along.

Prussia was not the first of the German states where the old order of things was overturned. During the whole of the month of March, Germany underwent the process of revolution. The principal demands made on the sovereigns of the different states were—

A new civil and criminal code for the whole of Germany, trial by jury, and the publicity of all proceedings.

Freedom of the press.

Representative chambers in all the states, who were alone to have the power of voting taxes and supplies.

Civic equality, without distinction of creed.

And that the people should be represented as well as the princes in the Council of the Confederation of the Rhine.

These were the nominal objects for which the party called liberal by themselves had for the last thirty years been striving, and for which they had been somewhat harshly

dealt with. At the same time, experience has shown that, to a certain extent, the sovereigns were right; and, in consequence, the people wrong. For, unquestionably, when they got all these blessings—blessings as they really are to us—they did them much more harm than good. "Con lo que Sancho sana Domingo adolece."

On the third of March, although already with many of the other states enjoying an appearance of parliamentary government, the new order of things (to wit, topsy turvy) began at Wurtemberg. The Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt abdicated. In Bavaria, things took a more practical turn. The people insisted on the dismissal of the king's mistress, Lola Montez: she was sent away, but, trusting to the king's dotage, she came back, police or no police—was received by the king—he created her Countess of Lansfeldt. This was a climax to which the people were not prepared to submit; not that they were a whit more virtuous than their sovereign. The king was compelled to expel her, to annul her patent of naturalization, and resume the grant he had made of property in her favour. This was more than he could stand, and he shortly after abdicated in favour of his heir.

In Saxony the king gave way, after his troops had refused to act, and the freedom of the press was established, and other popular demands granted. In Vienna, the old system of Metternich was abolished, after a revolution which was little more than a street row. The King of Hanover refused to move, but was eventually induced to receive Stube as one of his ministers, who had been previously in prison for his opinions. However, he was firmer than most of his brother monarchs, and his country suffered less than the rest of Germany in consequence.

At Oldenburg, the Baron von Thanne, one of the greatest landowners in the duchy, waited on the Grand Duke at the head of a deputation, praying for reform

(*10th of March.*) He told the Duke what was wanted, —namely, representative government, &c. The Duke appeared to think his language rather strong, for he asked him if he meant to threaten him. He replied that he did not, but he had come there to express the unanimous wishes of the people. The Duke observed that it was a very difficult matter, and required considerable meditation; and that, at a time of excitement like the present, it could only be done in a hurry. The Baron replied—"Allow me to remind your highness that, seventeen years ago, in 1830, you made me precisely the same reply, when I had the honour to make you precisely the same request." Revolutions in those days, and abdicated princes, came so fast and thick, that it was impossible to keep any count of them—the newspapers were full of one, Mivart's overflowed with the other. England, the only land of real freedom, has been universally acknowledged to be such, *in fact*, by both princes and demagogues, however much they may abuse her when it serves their turn to do so. Both parties have found here a sure refuge, either from democracy or despotism.*

* After having received the princes, when they ran away from their people, it is very hard that they should complain of us as they do for receiving the people when they run away from their princes. They consider us a hotbed of republicanism, revolutionizing others, but not undergoing, by some odd circumstance, the same convulsions ourselves. If the public policy of some of our ministers have justified the suspicion, the habits of the people ought to have refuted it. The popular mind is here disposed to welcome and help the oppressed, be he prince or negro. There is, no doubt, a class of destructives who delight in the damage of royalty, and in popular convulsion. That these are rogues and vagabonds, and not the people, let the 10th of April witness. Freedom, in the mouth of an Englishman, does not mean either license or pillage. Foreign refugees are not very closely watched here, because we rest confident that they are in most cases perfectly innocuous. We are not much in the habit of watching by police our own political societies, nor are our laws, such as they are, very strictly enforced against agitators. Until they get beyond all reasonable limit, they are treated with silent contempt. Hence demonstrations, dangerous on the Continent, here evaporate in their own smoke. Practical common sense is our safeguard. We find it suits us better than espionage or democratic license.

Immediately after the outbreak at Berlin, Germany became enthusiastic about Poland, and popular clamour was loud for the reconstruction of that unfortunate kingdom. Prussia had got a large slice of it in Posen, and had a number of Poles in prison. The doors were thrown open, and the prisoners liberated; an immense crowd assembled, and took the horses from the carriage, and dragged it to the palace, and thence to the university. Handkerchiefs were waved from the windows, and the people shouted. Mierolawski, one of the captives, held in his hand the black, red, and yellow tricolor of united Germany, and waved it in token of his sympathy to the vehement cheers of the mob. As the procession passed the palace, the king came out on the balcony. Small thought was there of consistency, either on the part of kings or people: society was in a ferment to its very dregs; old ideas were forgotten or overlooked. Next day came a deputation from Posen: its demands were at once complied with; the duchy was to be divided into two parts—one German, the other Polish—each was to have its local administration, independent of the other. The rest of Germany approved of the arrangement; Polish exiles were invited to return; they were welcomed with general sympathy; all things went smoothly for a few days; but, in a week's time, disputes arose, as might have been anticipated, between the German inhabitants and the Polish on the subject of the partition. Then came a civil war of races in the duchy, carried on on both sides with most barbarous cruelty, showing how utterly unfit both parties were for the blessing of freedom, which they claimed as their right. They had fraternized in Berlin; a week after they cut each other's throats in Posen. At length, however, the terms of the partition were arranged, and the outbreak terminated in the capture of Mierolawski, and the defeat of his Poles, when the insurrection had lasted till the 10th of

May. Both parties, as in such cases generally, were probably in the wrong, in greater or less proportion.

Thus ended the first act of the regeneration of Germany.

A congress of German sovereigns had been arranged to take place at Dresden; for Switzerland and Italy had been, in the beginning of the year, giving them some uneasiness, in consequence of demonstrations of the liberal party in those countries. Switzerland had been actually engaged in a civil war, but it had come to an end. Prussia was, it had been agreed, to send her forces against the Swiss; while Austria was to employ hers in keeping in check her Italian subjects. On the 1st of March, the canton of Neufchatel threw off the yoke of Prussia, and Prussia was not in a position to resist it. It joined the Swiss Confederation; and now a new danger seemed to threaten from across the Rhine. The Congress was therefore fixed to meet at Dresden on the 25th of March. But by that time Germany was in the throes of revolution, and the German sovereigns had more than enough to do to keep order in their own states; and, had they ventured to leave them, it was perhaps a question what might have been done in their absence, and whether they might not have been refused admission to them on their return.

Instead of a congress of princes, there met an assemblage of delegates, self-appointed, in the names of the people of Germany, to consult as to the reconstruction of the federation of states. The Frankfort Diet had not put any obstacle in the way, and had invited the seventeen constituents to send them seventeen men of public confidence to help them in their deliberations.

They convoked a preliminary meeting, which assembled at Frankfort on the 31st of March, to make arrangements for the convocation of a national parliament, and to decide what districts should send representatives.

The insurrection in the Duchies of Schlesvig and Holstein arose from one of the most curious of intrigues; and a matter more discreditable to the German patriotic party is not on record. Holstein is a male fief of the German empire. Of it the present King of Denmark was duke. On the failure of heirs-male it would leave his family, while the kingdom of Denmark and the adjacent Danish Duchy of Schlesvig would by Danish law descend to heirs-female. Schlesvig never was a part of the German empire. Upon it the Czar had a claim, which was eventually settled by his giving it up in favour of Denmark; and, together with him, France and England. in the year 1727, by express treaty, guaranteed the possession of it in perpetuity to the Danish royal family. The inhabitants of Holstein speak Platt Deutch, and are in number about 300,000. The inhabitants of Schlesvig are in number about the same as the neighbouring duchy: about 200,000 speak Danish only, the remainder speak Platt Deutch, and of them not a third understand the German of literature. This country has a peculiar interest. It is the original seat from whence sprung that great race of Angles and Danes, which, combined with the Normans (originally another Scandinavian seacoast tribe), produced the Englishman and England as they now exist.*

A people with their characteristics are with great diffi-

* All these races were originally seafaring men. Piracy, though not now reckoned a respectable profession, was much indulged in; but, if piracy existed, it almost presupposes the existence of commerce by sea. Without commerce it could scarce have been profitable, and of the existence of ships of commerce Cæsar testifies. Probably both were the occupations of these peoples. Both would tend to create a race of men capable of taking care of themselves. Prompt in obedience to their commander, yet able when thrown on their own resources to act for themselves, and determined to do so. That there is an inheritance of particular character from father to son is as indisputable as that there is an inheritance of particular features. People retain as a whole their hereditary characteristics, though qualified by circumstances.

culty reduced to slavery. Accordingly we find that, though since the Danish Revolution of 1660, by which the states formally surrendered the whole power of the government into the hands of the then king, and abolished for ever the feudal privileges of the nobles, which were such as to be alike burdensome to themselves and to the people, the Danes have enjoyed more real practical freedom than almost any continental country of Europe. Real freedom does not consist in constitutions. The king, though autocratic, is only considered as the leader of the people, and knowing the people he has to deal with, has very sensibly left them to manage their own affairs for themselves. They have the entire management of their local governments; they elect nearly all their own officers; they are not meddled with and functionary-ridden to the same extent as the Germans are.* In Denmark the government was nominally the most despotic in Europe, but the people were really free. Even in Holstein, public duties were much less burdensome than in the rest of Germany.

The intrigues of the Duke of Augustenburg, and the professors, students, and waiters for place of the University of Kiel, produced the rebellion. The University of Kiel had a direct and palpable interest in the matter—posts, places, and jobs. Each year increased the number of idle hangers-on and waiters for office. The places in Holstein were not numerous enough to supply half the hungry expectants of office duly qualified. Kiel was the University of Holstein. Schlesvig, being mainly Danish, was very properly supplied by the University of Copenhagen; but, in the German-speaking part, persons who could speak German were appointed—at least the people

* When people do know how to take care of themselves, what possible object is there in taking care of them? In any case, the system of government taking paternal care of the people means nothing more than inconveniencing all the men who have any brains to preservethose who have none; and when accomplished the object is perhaps of questionable advantage.

elected those they chose among the qualified candidates. Now, if Schlesvig with its 300,000 inhabitants could be taken from Denmark and given to Holstein, it would at the same time be taken from Copenhagen and given to Kiel.

The inhabitants of the two duchies were essentially an agricultural population, and very comfortably off. There were both large and small farms, and substantial yeomen cultivating them, such as are scarce to be met with in the rest of the Continent; and, before the outbreak and the insurrection, they had no grievances whatever to complain of. Dairy farming and horse-breeding are their principal occupations. Now, this population the idle hangers-on at Kiel resolved to stir up, and in consequence of this patriotic desire the newspapers teemed with incendiary articles, advocating the right of the two duchies to be a part of the united Germany. The ideas and interests of one German university are the ideas and interests of all universities in Germany. The whole German press, set free by the German outbreaks, was frantic on the subject, and all the idle, dissolute scum of the universities was ready to do battle for the cause. Notwithstanding all this, the steady-going inhabitants of Schlesvig and Holstein would in all human probability not have stirred in the matter, and, to induce them to do so, they were deceived in a still more atrocious manner.

The Duke of Augustenburg considers himself the next heir to the Duchy of Holstein. It is a disputed question in German law whether he is or is not, but that does not enter into the present consideration. The estates of the duke are situated in Schlesvig, and he has no possessions in Holstein. There is no royal property to which he would succeed in Holstein. He would then be in the awkward position of either having to raise his revenue from the Holsteiners, or be a sovereign prince of the

German empire, and yet have all his property in the dominions of another power, and be thus in the uncomfortable position of being at once a sovereign and a subject. Thus the junction of the two duchies was to him a matter of considerable personal importance.

In the year 1786, the father of the present Duke of Augustenburg married Louisa Augusta, the sister of Frederick the Sixth of Denmark. For a considerable period there were no direct heirs to the crown, and it was highly probable that it would fall to the Augustenburg family; but this expectancy was destined to be disappointed. Heirs were born and lived, and daughters married into other families, and the expected crown faded away, and the Duke of Augustenburg remained heir only of the Duchy of Holstein.*

On the 25th of March, a revolution was effected by some idle students at Kiel. They set up a provisional government for Schlesvig-Holstein, as they called the two

* When the duke fled from his palace to join the insurgents at Kiel, his correspondence fell into the hands of Denmark, and was published. It proves that he and his brother the Prince of Augustenburg Noer were the instigators of the insurrection in the duchies. It shows the part played by them in instigating the university of Kiel and the newspaper press to hoodwink Europe and Germany with the impression that Schlesvig was German in its population, not Danish. The use of the German language was stated by them to be universal, and they undertook the insane attempt to make it so. They assumed that Danish was a mere barbarous dialect, without literature or cultivation. The Prince of Augustenburg Noer, the near relative and intimate friend of the king, had been appointed stadtholder, an office which he held almost up to the insurrection. He had, in the absurd crusade against the Danish language, appointed all over Schlesvig, in the Danish-speaking parts, persons who only spoke German to officiate as clergymen, schoolmasters, and to other offices to which he could nominate, and the duke on his own estates would appoint no one who could speak Danish. The duke himself became a writer in the press, and sent articles to various papers, which he had the mortification to find were frequently refused insertion as being too unpopular; and one unfortunate editor who had published too many of them found his newspaper without subscribers, and asked the duke to compensate him for his loss in his service. He even attempted to bribe the *Times*, but they would not write up the duke.

duchies together. It was a new combination of names made expressly to suit the occasion, and the inhabitants of Schlesvig were revolutionized without being consulted in the matter. Thither went the stadtholder, the Prince of Augustenburg Noer. When he got there, he said that an insurrection had taken place at Copenhagen, and that the king was in the power of the insurgents. He persuaded the soldiery and the people to join him in attempting to rescue their sovereign from a revolutionary mob. He cajoled the men of the 5th jager corps, and most of the officers, to accompany him to Rendsburg, and take possession of that fortress. He there repeated the story of the king's being a captive in the hands of the democratic party. Some of the officers stepped forward, and said that they had very lately heard from Copenhagen, and were not aware that there existed there any democratic party (as, indeed, there did not; the king had, in the beginning of the year, without being asked for it, established a parliament). The prince pulled out of his pocket a newspaper, forged to his express order, purporting to be a Stettin paper, containing the news brought by a ship from Copenhagen, just as it was going to press.

The garrison did not doubt the truth of the late stadtholder. He had been very lately their own commander-in-chief, and was the near relative and personal friend of the king. They joined the regiment he brought from Kiel, and gave him the command of the fortress. The duke, in the meantime, went by railway to Berlin, and obtained permission of the King of Prussia to raise a corps of volunteers in his dominions to aid the Schlesvig-Holstein cause—a cause, be it remarked, of which the people of those duchies were hitherto unaware. They believed they were called on to release their king. The Germans were called on to coerce him, and both were called on by the same persons—so much for honesty and

patriotism. Such was the cause for which the German sovereigns violated the territory of a king with whom they had no quarrel.

Crowds of volunteers, in the course of a few days, arrived at Rendsburg from Germany; but the inhabitants of the duchies were still kept in the dark by the proclamations which were issued by the provisional government. That such deceptions had to be practised, is an all-sufficient demonstration that the people themselves had no hand whatever in the rebellion. It was, from one end to the other, a got-up thing. The provisional government raised a number of men by conscription on the same pretext.

The value of the duchies to Germany was very great. One of the chief objects of longing of Young Germany was a navy. In possession of the duchies, they would have the best harbour on the Baltic south of Cronstadt. The King of Prussia, therefore, who had taken on himself to lead that party, was tempted by this; and, coveting his neighbour's havens, regardless of the laws of nations, without any declaration of war, on the 6th of April sent an army of 20,000 men to assist the rebels, such as they were. The Frankfort Parliament cordially approved of the step. As he had intended, the war with Denmark was immensely popular. Those who could agree on no other point, were agreed on the propriety of spoiling their neighbour for their own benefit. The German sovereigns were unable to resist the cry: numerous contingents were sent. The army amounted to 80,000 men, and all this to defeat a people of not more than 2,000,000 inhabitants, whose army never reached much above 30,000. The king, Frederick VII., who had only succeeded to the throne on the death of his father Christian VIII., in the beginning of January in the current year, at once despatched every guard he had to the seat of war, leaving his palace without a sentry, and trusted

himself to the affections of his people. He then put himself at the head of his troops, and demonstrated to Europe the lie which had been palmed off on it. He sent the royal plate to the mint, in order that the expense of the war might be less felt. It is not otherwise than satisfactory to reflect, that, had the abominable treachery towards the king—"of his own familiar friends in whom he trusted—who also did eat of his bread"—succeeded in wresting the duchies from him, that they would have taken nothing by the motion. Germany did help them, but for its own advantage. Prussia had an eye to territorial aggrandizement, without any regard to the claims of the duke.

Thus, then, stood the quarrel. Germany, with a boasted population of 40,000,000, and an army of 80,000, was about to conquer a small kingdom containing 2,000,000, and an army of 30,000. And England, a power guaranteeing, by distinct treaty, the integrity of the duchy of Schlesvig, and its perpetual union with the crown of Denmark, looked on without interfering.*

* What influences were brought to bear on our minister, time may show. Whether there were intrigues, and sympathy with liberalism in Germany (which appears to consist, as it does in some other countries, of being very liberal with other people's goods), or whether he was misled by the amazing mendacity of the press, and really believed that the people themselves originated the rebellion, it is difficult to say. Be this as it may, the transaction is not creditable to the English minister. The *people* here were not likely to know anything about treaties, but a minister ought to know that treaties, legally binding by the laws of nations, cannot be violated with impunity. The laws of nations are established for the mutual benefit of the nations of the earth, and the violation of these rules must tend to shake the confidence of nations in each other. A minister ought to consider that it is his duty to see that no slur is cast on the honour of a nation during his administration; and if even it be admitted that one nation has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of another, this is not a case of the kind. What right had Prussia and Germany to interfere when they did? It became our duty to stop them, and, from one cause or another, we did not do so; consequently we did not do our duty,—and, perhaps, the least said about it the soonest mended. And as Russia did in the matter do hers, if we have thrown Denmark into her hands, it is nobody's fault but our own.

The republican flag had been hoisted by a small party in the lake district of Baden, but it was pulled down within a week, and its leader, Struvé, was taken prisoner. The other leader, Hecker, escaped. The only thing they performed worth recording was the murder of General von Gagern, the commander of the troops opposed to them, when engaged in a parley before the battle. The laws of civilized warfare are below the notice of these philanthropic gentry.

On the 18th of May 1848, the German Parliament held its first sitting at Frankfort. They elected Heinrich von Gagern, brother of the general, their president.*

On the 18th of June, they resolved to establish a provisional central power for all Germany, to administer all affairs, civil and military, foreign and domestic; and this power was to be intrusted to a regent elected by themselves,—irresponsible, but having responsible ministers. The King of Prussia was not elected regent, in spite of his attack on Denmark; but the archduke John of Austria was by a very large majority. The recent conversion of the King of Prussia to liberal politics was looked on with suspicion. The archduke, regent, arrived a few days after, and was invested on the 12th of July with his

* In this Assembly there were from each of the undermentioned states representatives in the following proportions:—

193 Prussia.	6 Nassau.
110 Austria.	6 Mecklenburg-Schwerin.
68 Bavaria.	5 Luxemburg and Lemburg.
26 Würtemberg.	5 Oldenburg.
24 Hanover.	4 Brunswick.
21 Saxony.	4 Saxe-Weimar.
19 Baden.	2 Saxe-Coburg Gotha.
12 Hesse (Duchy).	2 Saxe-Meiningen.
11 Hesse (Electoral).	2 Altenburg.
11 Schleswig-Holstein.	3 Hamburg (City).

And one member each to the remaining eighteen of the thirty-eight German independent states. It may be observed, in passing, that the number of members allotted to each state was neither in proportion to the number of inhabitants, nor according to any other known principle.

office. On that day the Diet of the Rhenish Confederation held its last sitting, and delivered up its authority to the new central power and the German parliament.

This Assembly, so constituted, contained 95 professors; 81 doctors of philosophy, law, or physic; 14 newspaper editors and pamphleteers; and 17 clergymen;—in all, of university educated men, 207; of civil functionaries, 212; of landowners, 93; military officers, 13; merchants, 23; and manufacturers, 10;—making, of the functionary and university classes, representing the common nonsense of Germany, 419; of squires and men of business, representing its common sense, 139. The result is obvious. The Assembly talked more than it did; the few practical men of business were overborne by a profusion of professors; theory usurped all their attention, in the place of practice, with a sole exception, when theory would have been the less mischievous of the two; and they saw justice in a manner peculiarly in their own favour, denying indignantly to Italy the unity they coveted for themselves; liberal, as are other liberals, with other people's property; and, as other liberals, most covetous as to their own. They reformed no abuses; they propounded a vast multitude of things that ought to be, but did not do any of them. It was no consequence to them that their theories were inconsistent with each other.* But, not content with doing nothing, they did much wrong; they gave way to the most selfish ambition for national aggrandizement; they aided and abetted the undergraduate rebels in Holstein and Schlesvig in their treason; they hurled

* For instance, they declared that every German had a right to go where he liked, and carry on what trade he liked, in any part of Germany he pleased, unmindful that they left him under the burden of the landwehr, which utterly prevented him making use of it. They made another proposition that all property was sacred, forgetting that the system of guilds holding labour as a property interfered with a German setting up in any trade he liked in any part of the Vaterland, and that the one proposition negatived the other.

on Denmark an army of 80,000 men, with a vaunted population of 40,000,000 to back them,—not from the justice of their cause, but because they had looked on their neighbour's vineyard, and coveted it. It is strange to remark the similarity between democratic and autocratic appropriative ambition.

Prussia took the field against Denmark and her own wrong. Denmark might, from her naval force, have taken the Prussian coasts and shipping at a disadvantage by way of reprisal, but did not do so till the duchy of Schlesvig was actually invaded. It was hoped that negotiations would put an end to hostilities. Plenipotentiaries from the belligerent powers were to meet at Hamburg on the 24th of April to settle differences. In consequence of this expected settlement, Hedeman, the Danish commander-in-chief, had orders to avoid fighting; but, on the 23d, his position was attacked by the Schlesvig-Holsteiners, under General Wrangel, and 26,000 men. The Dane had only 11,000 men, and, with this inferiority of numbers, notwithstanding the surprise, he stood his ground, and only retired after eight hours' hard fighting, when he receded in good order.

The Danish general having an abundant supply of shipping at his command, retired from the mainland to the islands of Alsen and Funen. While Wrangel with one division marched into Jutland, and levied a contribution in that province of £440,000, while with another division he continued to occupy Schlesvig, his divisions were several days' march apart, General Hedeman could, owing to his command of shipping, in a few hours concentrate his army so as to increase either division. He made a feint on Jutland, but immediately drew back, and fell with his whole force on Schlesvig. When the two armies were in sight of each other, it was announced to them that the division in Jutland had been withdrawn in consequence

of the intervention of friendly powers. Notwithstanding this, they fought a battle, which the Danes won, on the 28th of May.

Negotiations for peace still went forward simultaneously with several indecisive actions. Sweden sent her fleet to help the Danes, and landed an army on the Danish islands; and the Czar hinted that, as the Emperor Paul had only given up his claim on Schlesvig to the reigning family of Denmark, if they were ousted he should consider his claim revived. At the same time he sent his fleet to the Danish help. England tried her hand at mediation, but did not succeed. Then Sweden made the experiment. An armistice was agreed to by Prussia and Denmark. The two envoys met accordingly to arrange future matters, when it was announced that General Wrangel refused to obey, and repudiated Prussia, saying that he was the officer of the new German empire, and that it was for them to ratify the truce. Denmark thereupon increased the strictness of the blockade, and did considerable injury to Prussian trade. This induced more reasonable conduct on their part; and France at this time sending an envoy, alluding to the French guarantee in 1720 of the union of Schlesvig with Denmark, an armistice for seven months was agreed on.

Upon this armistice no small stir arose in the Frankfort Parliament. It had been concluded on the 26th of August in the name of the King of Prussia for the Germanic Confederation, and not in the name of the Regent and the new German Empire. This was considered at Frankfort to be casting a doubt on the new central authority. The assumption that the confederation was still in existence was considered to be an ignoring of the existence of the Frankfort Assembly. The terms of the armistice were much objected to. The Danish and German troops were to evacuate the duchies, and a provisional

government of five persons, of which Count Mölke was president, was to be established there in the name of the king. The troops of Schlesvig were to be organized under the king,—those of Holstein under the Confederation. The contribution which General Wrangel had levied was to be repaid, and the Danes were to restore the shipping they had taken. The appointment of Count Mölke gave great offence: he was looked on as the head of the Danish or anti-German party at Copenhagen. The Assembly resolved, by a majority of 238 to 22, to suspend the measures for carrying the armistice into execution. This resolution was immediately followed by the resignation of the Regent's ministry. Professor Dahlman, the leader of the Opposition, attempted to form a ministry, but failed in doing so. On the 16th, the Assembly was obliged to eat its own words, and resolved, by a majority of 257 to 236, that the armistice should be carried out, with some alterations, which were accepted by Denmark.

The rabble of the Frankfort streets consisted of all the rogues and vagabonds of Germany, and who, and from the want of the fortifications which had been destroyed in 1815, could not be kept out, gathered together round the Paulus Kirche, where the Assembly held its sittings, and threatened the majority with personal violence as they left the sitting, but no breach of the peace occurred that day. On the following day, large open-air meetings were held. The Republican members of the Assembly addressed them. They passed resolutions denouncing the majority, who had agreed to the armistice, as traitors against the *majesty, honour, and liberty of the German people.*

The Assembly sent word to the Regent that they were powerless to preserve order. He induced some of his late ministers to resume office, and called up troops—Austrian, Prussian, and Bavarian—to occupy Frankfort. On Mon-

day, the Republicans in the Assembly loudly denounced these measures as uncalled for, while the same party in the streets were demonstrating their extreme necessity.

Schmerling, who was Provisional Minister of the Home, Foreign, and War Departments, declared the city in a state of siege. The mob threw up barricades. They were summoned to surrender, but they refused. The military then attacked them; and after a sharp fight overcame the rioters, who were ill armed, and who had no assistance from the burghers. But before order was restored, the Republican party had murdered, with every circumstance of atrocity, Prince Lichowski and Major Auerswald. They were members of the Parliament, and belonged to the unpopular party, having voted in favour of the armistice. They had ridden out of the town, for the purpose, it is supposed, of meeting the artillery, which was expected to arrive about five o'clock. Several shots being fired at them, they attempted to get back to the town, but were cut off from it by the rabble. They endeavoured to escape across the fields. Major Auerswald was soon stopped and dragged from his horse, and the assassins, after deliberating where they could shoot him so as to allow him to linger the longest in the greatest agony, discharged their muskets into several parts of him, and left him alive: fortunately a part of their philanthropy was frustrated by an old woman, who battered his brains out with a stone, and put an end to his sufferings. The prince, finding no escape from the field, having galloped round it, returned to the road, where he was seized, dragged from his horse, and the demons skinned, cut, and slashed his legs and arms, and tore the flesh from them, and then left him, saying he had had enough for the present, and they would wait till he had a little recovered himself. He with great difficulty crawled to a cottage, where he was kindly received. After he had been there about an hour, the same

democrats—they ought not to be called men—returned and required his instant surrender. The people of the cottage refused to admit them, or to give up the prince. They then proceeded to make preparations for setting the cottage on fire, which they would have done had not the prince come out to meet his fate and save the inmates. They received him with shouts of derision, formed a circle round him, and kept pricking him with their knives and bayonets, and compelling him to keep in constant motion. After a while, tired of this amusement, they fastened him to a wall, and fired more than twenty shots into his body, intentionally avoiding any part that would at once destroy life; and after giving him several mortal wounds, they, laughing, left him to suffer a little longer. He was found in this condition by some Hessian cavalry, and was carried by them, at his own request, to the hospital, where, after dictating an account of the manner of his assassination, he died at one o'clock next morning. Assassination has been practised as an adjunct to democracy in most countries,—here it is only *recommended* by unadorned eloquence. There appears some unexplained connexion between them. Despotism has seldom perpetrated anything more horrid. Extremes meet: between despotism and democracy there is sympathy and similarity of habits; only one despot is better than thousands. Thus ended the second act of the regeneration of Germany.

The Danish war, notwithstanding the armistice, was not at an end. The Danes, on the one hand, had sought to establish the identity of Schlesvig with the kingdom of Denmark in point of administration and in point of succession, The Germans had contended, with far less reason, that by virtue of its supposed connexion with Holstein, the Duchy of Schlesvig was German. The proposition made by Lord Palmerston was, that the duchy should be neither Danish nor German, but independent, and con-

nected with the crown of Denmark by what was termed "a political tie." It had, moreover, been suggested by no less an authority in the matter than Count Nesselrode himself, that the relations existing between the sister crowns of Sweden and of Norway might serve as a precedent for those to be established between Denmark and Schlesvig. The German governments and ministers had made up their minds to accept these conditions, and, consequently, to abandon altogether that essential German element in Schlesvig, for which the German nation had been ready to take up arms. But the more eager the German plenipotentiaries were for the conclusion of the peace, the more indifferent did the Danes become on the subject.

Although Prussia was nominally at peace with Denmark, the insurgent army was supplied with Prussian men, Prussian officers, and Prussian guns. Philosophers, authors, artists, lawyers, clergy, functionaries, expectants on function, and students, formed the nebula which surrounded the core of stout, honest Danes who were brought together by conscription, or had been beguiled by the Augustenburgs. These were drilled by Prussians, commanded by Prussians, and were essentially Prussian, insomuch that the raw lads from the Prussian military academies were put in command over old soldiers from other parts of Germany: a cause of frequent complaint and disunion in the insurgent army. The King of Denmark, at the beginning of 1849, issued a proclamation from Fredericksburg, protesting against violation of the essential conditions of the armistice with Prussia by the collective government of the duchies. He did not, however, renew hostilities, but only negotiated for the redress of this grievance, and told the inhabitants of the duchies that, till the negotiations were concluded, he did not consider it obligatory on them to obey the provisional authorities. In March, hos-

tilities were recommenced, and the duchies declared in a state of siege, and a blockade was established. The most remarkable circumstance in the war was the taking of the Gefion, one of the finest frigates in the Danish navy, and the blowing up of the Christian the Eighth, by a Bavarian serjeant of artillery, at Ekenfiord, a small inlet, up which they had ventured, and which was so narrow that they could not be worked in it. The serjeant with two or three field-pieces replied to their broadsides, and in a few hours completely disabled them. What induced them to enter such a *cul-de-sac* is difficult to imagine. This event took place on the 5th of April 1849. In July, after some months of doing very little, during which the Schelsvig-Holsteiners were besieging and the Danes defending the fortress of Frederica, the Danes concentrated their forces by means of their ships, which the command of the sea enabled them to do, and concealing their intentions, brought their troops to bear on the 6th. The attack was overwhelming, and they routed and destroyed the besieging army. The Danes withheld their fire till they were within six paces of their opponents. They took the greater part of the battering-train, and numerous officers of the Schlesvig-Holstein party. On the 10th, an armistice was concluded at Berlin for six months, and six weeks more if not renewed. The Prussian troops were to evacuate Jutland, and restore the contributions. The military commanders were to agree on a boundary-line between Tondern to Flensburg: 6000 Prussian troops to occupy the south of the line—Denmark was to occupy the north at her own cost, and with 2000 Swedes to retain the island of Alsen; a commission of one person named by Denmark, and one by Prussia, was to carry on the civil government in accordance with existing laws.

The rest of Germany was invited to agree in the armistice. Thus were the two contending parties pacified for

the time, as they had many times before been. How Prussia came to be considered as Germany, or Schlesvig-Holstein, so as to be a party, is a matter inexplicable on any intelligible principles. Negotiations proceeded as negotiations usually do, dragging their slow length along near on to a twelvemonth. It was stated in parliament that a treaty had been agreed on for the permanent pacification of the belligerents; but it was a mystification, not a settlement. It was loudly boasted of, but Prussia and Austria both held aloof, and protested. The Schlesvig-Holsteiners were furious. Altogether it became manifest that a severe lesson must be inflicted on these disorderly philosophers. The proclaiming of peace naturally rekindled the war. The opposing troops crossed their neutral line, and commenced operations against each other. The insurgents remained concentrated on Schlesvig, the Danes remained masters of the sea and the coast. The Danish army lay before Flensburg. Certain small skirmishes took place between them, but for some weeks no decisive action occurred; but on the 25th of July, they met and fought a pitched battle before Idstedt.

It was the decisive battle of the war, which resulted in the pacification of the insurgents. A few weeks previously, General Willisen, the chief aid-de-camp to the King of Prussia, had been appointed to the command of the Schlesvig-Holstein army. He was a writer on military subjects, and a skilful officer. The numbers of the armies were nearly equal, about 30,000 each. The insurgent army had been three years in the field, and had been frequently victorious, and had every confidence in itself: it was full of men from the Prussian Landwehr regiments, absent on special leave, and it had a profound contempt for the enemy; but it was badly put together. The Schlesvig-Holstein soldiers had no sympathy whatever with their German friends, who were very troublesome, from their want of

practical habits of campaigning; the amateur soldiers had no sympathy with the professionals, and the officers had not the confidence of the men. General Krogh, a man previously unheard of, commanded the Danes; but his army was animated by a national *esprit de corps*, and the men knew the officers and the officers the men; they were used to each other, and worked well together.

The materials of which the Danish army was formed were much superior to the German. The old Danish discipline, which consisted mainly in pipe-clay and pig-tails, had been changed. Instead of wasting their time in parades and ornamental manœuvres, the men were much more used to actual field-service. They were camped out each year, and went through a regular campaign in all respects, except that there was no enemy. They were used to bivouac in the field, build huts, patrol, and do outpost duty; thus they were well qualified for actual service, and to this is ascribed the fact, that though only new troops, they evinced as much knowledge of the duties of a soldier as is usually found in much older ones; they had also an abundance of good officers, educated in the Danish military schools, who were known to the men, and who when others were killed could supply their places. In addition, the men themselves were a rough, hearty race, active and enduring; and the nucleus of old troops, to which the new levies were added, were in excellent condition; and the whole together were actuated by a united purpose, were stimulated by the love of country and loyalty to their king, and fought in a quarrel which was understood by every private in the ranks. They fought to sweep the invaders out of the country, and they spoke a common language. In addition to these advantages, the Danes had the command of the sea.

On the other hand, the German or Schlesvig-Holstein army had none of these aids: they were different among

themselves in race and language, were ill officered, had no common object, and fought for a cause unintelligible to the great bulk of the army. The students, professors, and literary volunteers were unintelligible to the peasants of Schlesvig-Holstein, who formed the core of the army. The cause of a German fatherland was that of the literary volunteers, and not that of the peasants, who never heard of or cared for any such matter, but were brought out to deliver their king from captivity; and when they discovered that that was a myth, they had no intelligible object to fight for except forced conscription. Their officers did not know the men, nor the men the officers; they were Prussian, and sometimes not military men. Von Gagern, the late president of the Frankfort assembly, for instance, held the rank of major on the staff, without any previous military service.

One of the greatest wants of the Schlesvig-Holstein army was efficient officers. It was entirely the fault of the general. There were plenty to be had, but everything anti-Prussian or democratic was rejected, and there was no instance in this democratic army of a single promotion taking place from the ranks. The literary volunteers were remarkably useless soldiers. It is true that they might not be deficient in personal courage, but most of them were only theoretically acquainted with firearms. Some education is required to use a gun, so as to render it a weapon either dangerous to an enemy or safe to friends. When it came to making trenches, bivouacking, building huts, and doing real hard work, they were of no use. If the whole of war consisted in the fighting, they might have done passably. A comfortable dinner (with two dozen courses) and a comfortable bed (with several mattresses over the sleeper) would have rendered him invincible next morning; but, unfortunately, these comforts are not usually met with in active service. The

Danes, accustomed to agricultural labour from their infancy, had not lost the labourer in the soldier, and could, when occasion required, handle a spade, or a pick, or an axe with sufficient skill; and, from living in a non-manufacturing country, the people were accustomed to do many of those things for themselves that, in other conditions, are done by separate tradesmen.*

The Danes, too, have another very important quality of a soldier. They are in the habit of considering that a battle is beginning where the most of the continental armies think it ends, namely, when they come to charge bayonets. They look on the previous firing, however slaughterous, as a mere preliminary, and are accustomed to the idea of a battle being decided by the hand to hand engagement. This opinion gives them great coolness under fire, and renders them capable of executing difficult manœuvres in the face of an enemy which others are incapable of.

The German army, had, however, the advantage of numbers as well as position. It consisted of 32,000 men, while that of the Danes was only 28,000. The position which the Germans occupied was very strong naturally, and rendered stronger by art: in front of their centre lay the long lake called Langsö. This lake is separated from another called Idstedsö, by a narrow strip of land covered with wood, called "Gride Ekov," with a stream through it joining the two lakes. On both sides, the position was protected by impassable morasses, having on the right only one road across it, and on the left none at all; and requiring a circuit of twenty miles from the Danish camp to get round it to the Solbro bridge, the only means of

* Just as in this country, inhabitants of remote districts can, and frequently do, build their own out-buildings, do a certain amount of rough carpenter work, make their own shoes, and spin and knit their own stockings for the same reason.

access to the German left. The strip of land between the lakes, which was the only possible means of getting at the enemy's centre, was strengthened by field-works, and commanded by batteries; and the bridge of Wedelspang, on the German right, was commanded by batteries, as well as the road to it. Across the lake Langsö was constructed a temporary bridge, communicating by a sort of road with the village of Overstock, a considerable distance in front, where were established a line of outposts and batteries. The position is said to have been, in a certain sense, too strong: it was an excellent defensive position, but all the lakes and bogs surrounding General Willisen's army, nearly as effectually prevented him from getting at the enemy, as the enemy from getting at him. His means of attack were much limited by these causes; for a defensive position, however, it is impossible to imagine one much stronger. The position was his own choice: he had occupied it, and fortified himself in it. The Danish army came up on the 23d; the Danish general's head-quarters were a little in the rear, at a small public-house—here his measures were concerted and communicated to his officers. The attack was postponed till the 25th, in order to give his right wing time to turn the German left, by marching twenty miles round the bogs and marshes to the Solbro bridge; and, in the meantime, he contented himself with driving in the enemy's outposts. The moor on which the battle was fought is covered with tumuli,—the graves of the ancestors of the two hostile armies. It was in this very place that the Emperor Otto had beaten Harold Blue Tooth, the grandfather of Canute the Great, and forced him to sue for peace, and had had him baptized by Bishop Boppo. It had been the battle-field of ages, and had witnessed the forgotten battles and valiant deeds of the German and Scandinavian races. It is curious to remark the number

of battles often fought on the same spot in different ages.

The Solbro bridge had by some unaccountable neglect been left to the guard of only eighty riflemen. The riflemen defended the bridge for some time with great gallantry till General Baudisen came up with artillery and troops to their assistance. The Danish general having orders not to cross the river till next day, concealed the main body of his force behind the banks of the river Treene, and only showed what was enough to look like a party out reconnoitring. General Baudisen was taken in, and reported to the commander-in-chief that the enemy were in no strength in this quarter. In the meantime, in driving in the enemy's outpost at Overstolk on the German right, severe skirmishing took place, the village itself was the scene of several murderous conflicts, and the opposing parties were alternately driven out of it at the point of the bayonet. The position of Overstolk was such, that from it the Danish commander could either direct his forces on the strip of land between the two lakes in the German centre, or on the Wedelspang bridge. During one of the struggles in the street of Overstolk, the Danish general in command there and the two colonels next in command were killed, and the Danes driven out of the village. Their coolness and discipline were here remarkably exemplified; for when the troops were driven in disorder from the village, having lost their leading officers, the commander-in-chief sent General De Meza to take the command, to reorganize and re-officer them. This De Meza succeeded in doing (although at the period almost incapacitated from service by having undergone a severe surgical operation). He was attended by only two officers and a small escort, and in less than two hours he had rallied them, and attacked and driven the enemy out of the village —a strong proof of the mutual understanding and confi-

dence in each other of the men and officers in the Danish army.

When De Meza had taken the village, he received orders from the commander-in-chief to hold the position but not to move in advance. The Germans, imagining that it had been taken by fresh troops who had been brought up for the purpose, conceived that the main attack was intended in this direction and on the Wedelspang bridge: this delusion the Danes kept up by manœuvring some of their forces from Idstedt towards Overstolk. Acting on this impression, some of General Willesen's staff ordered artillery and troops from the centre to the Wedelspang bridge without consulting him on the subject, and afterwards nobody knew who gave the order. Each officer on the staff is said on this day to have acted as self-appointed commander-in-chief. Hence battalions of troops were moved from important positions without any one knowing why, or who gave the order: to this circumstance General Willisen in his account of the battle attributes his defeat. The want of efficient officers was, however, a want, as has been said, entirely of his own making. So inefficient were they, that no ammunition is said to have been supplied to the troops after they had exhausted what they had brought with them into the field. Another cause of their inefficiency was that they did not understand the language of the peasantry, and were thus unable to gather accurate information as to what was going on; neither did they understand the language of their own soldiers, who laughed at them and called them by nicknames. This strategy was disadvantageously matched against the calm conduct and determined plan of the Danish commander. By slackening the fire of his artillery against Idstedt, and manœuvring some troops towards Overstolk and Wedelspang, he deceived the enemy. At last, the cannonading of the Danish column advancing from the Sulbro bridge

on the German right flank was heard almost in the rear of the German position: the bridge had been carried, and the column was advancing along the road: the German position had been turned: the fire of the artillery was renewed against Idstedt, and the place was stormed at the point of the bayonet. The division in Overstolk, instead of attacking Wedelspang as the enemy expected, upon this made a rush at and stormed the earthworks on the narrow neck of land between the two lakes; and thus were in the flank and rear of the German centre near Idstedt, which had just been driven out of it by the Danish bayonets. The enemy was panicstruck and took to his heels; he retreated in such confusion as to amount to a flight, and did not stop till he reached the fortress of Rendsburg. Important positions were abandoned without firing a shot, and the cry, "The Danes are coming!" was enough to scatter the boastful heroes of the day before in single men running across the fields in all directions for their lives. Never was a more complete victory; the resolute dauntless cool courage of the Dane, doing what he was ordered, neither too much elated by success nor too much cast down by defeat, commanded by a general with a preconcerted plan of operations, was entirely victorious over boastful enthusiasm and vapouring rhapsodies.

General Willesen says that the battle of Idstedt was the hardest fought battle of the age: the loss on both sides together amounted probably to about 8000 men, or nearly an eighth of the men engaged. It is said to have been the most scientific — indeed the German press turned against the general, and said that it was fought in a position so strong that it required the greatest science to lose it, and accused him of treachery. The science displayed, the fixed plan, and the union in action of the other side, are self-evident: the combination of movements on the 24th and 25th were such as to pierce the centre of the enemy

and, turning his flank, get in his rear so as to convert his retreat into a disorderly flight. The field from Solbro bridge to Wedelspang is about twelve English miles long, and it is about three miles wide. Thus was the battle of Idstedt Moor lost and won. Its direct effect was to bring the campaign to a close. Its indirect effect was to produce the most intense consternation and disgust in the German newspaper press from one end of Germany to the other.

The Augustenburgs issued proclamations calling on the duchies to rise and deliver their king; but the cheat had been discovered, and the proclamations were laughed at. The German youth were exhorted to rise out of the forty millions of the German race and flock to the German tricolor and redeem its honour: but the German youth did not listen to the invitation; the enthusiasm had ended, and campaigning was unpleasant. The German youth of 1850 had woke from the visionary projects of 1848: all except the small proportion of seven hundred out of the forty millions preferred staying at home; and though the press was as enthusiastic as ever, and represented that the people were so too, it required a stringent conscription in Holstein, and a bounty of ten dollars a man to volunteers, to gather together sufficient force to begin the attack on Frederickstadt, which commenced on the 29th of September. It was the expiring flicker previous to the extinction of the flame which two years and a half before threatened to overturn the thrones of Europe, to make the maps waste paper, and to establish universal philanthropy, fraternity of peoples, and private assassinations.

On the 12th of September, to keep up the enthusiasm of his troops, General Willisen made a forward move, but was met and repulsed by the Danes: having for a short time occupied Accenfiord, from which, however, he had

to retire before the conflict was over. During his retreat he was much harassed.*

The town of Frederickstadt is situated at the junction of the rivers Treene and Eyder, both of which are navigable, and have canals between them, thus surrounding the town with a line of water-defence. It was not fortified save by a few mud-banks; but, owing to the water, it could only be approached along the top of the dikes raised above the water-level. It was moreover surrounded on all sides by pools and streams, or rather ditches, intersecting the ground. The commandant was an old retired officer of the Danish army, Colonel Helgesen, who had lived in the place many years, and was known as the "Otter Hunter,"—a pursuit which had given him a sportsman's knowledge of every bank, and hole, and drain in the country—a knowledge which must have served him in good stead during the siege. The garrison consisted of nine weak companies of infantry during the siege, and seven light field-pieces. The attacking corps was commanded by Colonel Von der Thann: Von Gagern, the late president of the late Frankfort government, was an officer on his staff. This corps consisted of two brigades of infantry, some cavalry, and thirty-two pieces of cannon of the heaviest battering guns, borrowed from the royal arsenals of Prussia, notwithstanding the peace. Twelve

* It so fell out that certain persons who call themselves the Peace Society held a congress of themselves at Frankfort in the autumn of 1850. They denounced all war. Now Denmark was at war with certain persons in the duchies: here was a good opportunity of trying their hand at diplomacy. Thereupon Mr Joseph Sturge, Elihu Burritt, and Frederick Wheeler, cast themselves into the gulf; but the duchies refused to give them a mission, and refused to make any sort of proposition. Upon this they went to Copenhagen, where, after being kept in quarantine some days, they were admitted to interview with the Danish ministers, who said they were willing to negotiate. Elihu Burritt remained in Hamburg to help; but it does not appear that he effected anything. He might have done more good had he volunteered to help the Danes against an unjust and unjustifiable aggression on the part of the German riff-raff.

of them were afloat in gun-boats on the Eyder; these poured a destructive storm of shot and shell on the fortifications of mud and the town—a town be it remarked devoted to the Schlesvig-Holstein cause—against the well established rule of civilized warfare, which forbids the battering of houses, except of course where houses serve as fortifications, or in order to punish some great breach of duty on the part of the enemy, neither of which causes existed here. The damage they did to the fortifications was not great, because the shot stuck in the soft clay-banks, and what they battered during the day the Danes filled up during the night; and finding that the enemy kept out of shot, the garrison stopped firing altogether, in order to save their ammunition for the assault. Every morning the besiegers found their breaches repaired, and had to breach again the same point they had breached the day before. One day a lodgment of men was effected on one of the breast-works, and they succeeded in scooping a hole through it; but the sentry in the inside stuffed his knapsack into the hole, and called to his fellows, who with their knapsacks made a barricade, and maintained it until troops came up to repel the enemy, when they quietly repaired the breastwork.

The municipal authorities, by the permission of the commandant, sent a deputation with a note to the commander of the besiegers, beseeching him to spare the houses, saying that more citizens than soldiers were killed by his shot, and entreating him not to fire on those parts of the town not connected with the defences, and asking if it were according to the laws of civilized war to bombard defenceless houses, and to lay waste a peaceful city without military result. The application was returned with the answer refused. Henry Von Gagern, the chief of the staff, the ex-president of the late Frankfort ministry, should have known better, whatever might have been

expected from Von der Thann, a mere military chief: 137 houses were destroyed by shot, and the greater part of the town reduced to ashes, and the houseless inhabitants turned out in the beginning of winter to beg shelter and subsistence through the swamps of Ditmarsh.

As chief of the staff, it was his business to have directed the artillery against what points to play. Democratic agitators are not educated or fitted for military command. This bombardment of the town rendered the Schlesvig-Holsteiners quite as unpopular among their former friends as among their enemies. It seems to have been their fate to have injured the former without its contributing to the defeat of the latter. This turned popular feeling inside the town altogether against the besiegers and in favour of the besieged. They gave them considerable help in supplying refreshments to them, and hoped to be as speedily delivered from their friends outside as the garrison did from their enemy. Victuals and drink are good municipal defences.

The enemy meanwhile, finding the fire stopped against them, expected the immediate surrender of the Danes; but still the Danish flag was flying. Two desperate attempts were made to storm the place, but the Danes reserved their fire till the besiegers were close upon them, and then poured such a murderous raking fire along the embankments on which they were obliged to approach to the attack, that both assaults were repulsed with loss. The besiegers lost during the siege 1200 men; it was raised on the 5th of October, the Germans being utterly defeated by the handful of troops, and the seven light guns, in an almost unfortified position, opposed to fearful odds in numbers, and a battering train of the heaviest description. Such are the effects of cool courage, military order, with a united purpose, and a determined commander.

The Schlesvig-Holstein cause was now left without a

hope; Germany had been called on, and would not hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely. The sole object of the bombardment had been to give time for the newspapers to rouse the people into enthusiasm, which they did not succeed in doing. The forces retreated crestfallen to Rendsburg, and the whole affair ended with a vapouring proclamation of General Willesen on the 23d of October. Von Radowitz the Prussian minister was obliged to hint to the insurgents that nothing more could be done for them, and that they had better abstain from aggression, in order that the war might sooner end. On the 20th the Diet of the Confederation determined to put an end to hostilities, and communicated the fact to the authorities at Kirel: that the Holstein forces should be withdrawn south of the Eyder—that two-thirds of them should be disbanded. Finally, peace was ratified in November 1850, and has not since been broken.

Thereupon Schlesvig-Holstein were dissolved from their unnatural union, and again became the duchy of Schlesvig and the duchy of Holstein, as they had been previously. They were pacified, the troops of professors and other idlers withdrew, the inhabitants raised by conscription disbanded, and the King of Denmark was again in possession of the states on which the forty millions of New Germany had made such an unwarrantable attack. Let it be recorded to his credit, that on the re-occupation of these provinces not a single execution took place; there were no trials before military tribunals. The harshest sentence was banishment for those who would not take the oaths to the king's government, and they were allowed time to sell up and go—certainly not a very rigorous proceeding. Some few objected to the oaths from scruples of conscience, saying they had taken the oaths to the former government; to these the government represented that oaths were binding only when imposed by lawful

authority—but made no attempt to punish or shoot them, as some of the other European governments might and would have done—and most of them acknowledged the force of the reasoning and took the oath. The government made no popular martyrs to the cause. It looked on the people as having been misled by misrepresentations; it contented itself with expelling such of the officials in Schlesvig, appointed by the Stadtholder in the Danish-speaking parts of the province, as could speak nothing but German, and required that where both languages were spoken in a parish, the clergyman and officials should speak both; and even this very reasonable conduct called down the wrath of New Germany in the newspapers, and was represented as the most tyrannical confiscation of private property and vested interests, as if it would not have been a much greater practical grievance to a much greater number of persons, to have officers who could not understand their language. Demagogues do not consider the people except as to how they may get the most out of them for themselves and their friends, and have been and are in all ages, and in all states, ready to howl in scorn and indignation if one of their own class suffers either from popular anger or kingly rule, however he may have really deserved it. Notwithstanding these outcries, this example of the moderation of the king is worth the attention of other potentates, and of some anti-monarchical popular leaders.

Thus were the ambitious designs of Prussia frustrated, and her surreptitious aid of the insurgent army of professors not only useless but punished, for during her consternation, following the defeat of that army, Austria took advantage of her condition and marched a corps through her provinces and occupied Hamburg, Altona, and the fortress of Rendsburg, and all Holstein, as fiefs of the German empire, of which Austria considers herself the chief,

but at first carefully abstained from intruding on Danish ground, and even did not occupy the crown-work of Rendsburg, which lies on the Danish side of the river; and Prussia, who had received such a blow in the defeat of her *quasi* Prussian army in Schlesvig, was forced to look on and see the havens she coveted, and the fortresses she desired, in the hands of her most formidable rival. Hamburg is the inlet and outlet of the trade of Germany, and the ports on the Baltic were of the utmost importance to her as a naval power. Without Hamburg, the hands of Prussia and the Zollverein are tied in regulating commerce; and though the occupation of Holstein is looked on probably with jealousy by Denmark, yet, as it has only a life-estate in that province during the life of their now king—at his death it is questionable who is the heir,—the Augustenburgs claim it; but the claim is disputed by the Oldenburgs (now represented by the Czar) and Glucksburgs, who may prove dangerous neighbours to Denmark. But Austria, who has no particular interest to interfere with Denmark, may be in such a case an important protection to her, in spite of the uncivilized behaviour of Austrian soldiers; and it is not probable, as long as she is the head of the German Empire, the German Confederation, or of a common Vaterland, or what it may be called, that she will evacuate these cities and fortresses.

Thus, very much against the interest and wishes of those who evoked the cry, the Empire of Germany became a real power, under the hand of Austrian autocracy.

> "Evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis
> Di faciles; nocitura togâ, nocitura petuntur
> Militâ."

CHAPTER III.

PRUSSIA FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE RESTORATION OF ORDER BY FORCE.

THE first want of man is a government of some sort. A government may be defined to be the forcible keeping in order of the disorderly elements of society. These disorderly elements are always in being: no state of society has yet existed without rogues, thieves, rabble, and vagabonds, who have everything to gain and nothing to lose by confusion; they are without morals or religion, which are a check on others, and are only, and can only, be kept in check by main force; they only do not raise barricades, pick pockets, fire ball-cartridge, and do other democratic acts every day of the week, because in ordinary states of society such conduct would ensure immediate punishment; but the moment that the external pressure is removed, the instinct of their nature breaks out. The respectable part of society are not in the habit of wishing to cut their neighbours' throats, or to appropriate their property. Governments are supported by them to restrain those who are of an opposite political opinion; but when from any temporary cause government so established is paralyzed, these opposite opinions find an opportunity for practice

which they seldom neglect; they are always ready, and are only kept in check by the force organized to repress them. The fact of force being so organized, destroys the individual habit of each member of society watching himself in order to prevent the spoliation of society in general. Each man is in the habit of deputing this duty to others and trusting to them; consequently the rogues and thieves, who are always ready organized for mischief, though an infinitely small portion of the people, take the people at a disadvantage the moment that the pressure of a government is removed; and it is only through continual and considerable suffering that the respectable classes are induced to combine and by main force establish order.

As might have been naturally expected, when the King of Prussia dismissed his military to allay the excitement in the streets of Berlin, and to spare bloodshed, the means he adopted were singularly inappropriate to the end in view. He established nothing but anarchy. He trusted himself and the public to the virtue of the urban populace of Berlin; and the manner the trust was discharged in no way belied previous experience. The persons expected to preserve order were themselves the most disorderly in the capital. How any human being, with the ordinary experience of the age of twenty-one years could have expected anything else, is a matter for the most profound wonder. The Prussian Diet, convoked the year before, which did in some sort represent the various classes and interests in Prussia, and which had not shown itself wholly deficient in common sense, was dissolved, and a Constituent Assembly was convoked. It was elected by universal suffrage; and, as might have been anticipated under such circumstances, was a body totally inefficient, who talked much and did nothing. The great majority of its members, as might be expected from the great majority of the electors, were men of neither political experience nor business

habits: deficient in character, and not in any true sense educated.

The members received pay at the rate of three dollars a-day; and, in order not to be accused of drawing their money for nothing, they occupied themselves with debates of a trivial, impractical character, wholly barren of result; but inconsistent and uncertain, they undid one day what they had done the day before. When they had nothing to do, they created business for no purpose but to appear to be at work. Conducting their debates in a disorderly, ill-tempered, and ungentlemanlike manner, the Assembly was a model of all such as have previously existed, and a caution to those which are to be hereafter.

It consumed two days, the 8th and 9th of June, in the profitless discussion of the outbreak of the 18th of March. Herr Behrend moved that the authors of that revolution deserved well of their country (which, as has been seen, arose from the accidental explosion of two muskets). The ministers opposed the motion, protesting that that affair had overturned nothing; and that the established institutions of the country still existed. A multitude of amendments were offered to the Assembly—that body plunged into a vehement discussion as to whether that event was a revolution or a transaction. It was carried by a small majority in favour of a transaction—a triumph for the ministry, but to the intense rage of the minority and the mob in the streets.* The mob vented their annoyance by the usual popular demonstrations—they fell upon the ministers and some of the unpopular members as they left the Chamber, who narrowly escaped with their lives. Finding themselves not interfered with so far, the mob began a regular insurrection. Their first exploit was to tear down some very strong iron gates, which had been got up

* The venerable motion, that "candles be now lighted," was a question of importance in comparison with this.

on the Schloss Platz in front of one of the courts of the palace. They, doubtless, considered them as an infraction on liberal institutions. The guard on duty offered no resistance, so the mob had it all their own way. The gates were carried off in triumph to the University, and deposited in the hall—sufficiently demonstrating who were the authors of the riot.* This business of the gates might have passed off as well as any other undergraduate frolic—such as wrenching off knockers, carrying off inn-signs, and painting blue boars black—had it not been followed by more serious demonstrations. The city was in a chronic state of riot, and, in such a state, small matters might be well passed over; but on the night of the 14th of June, the mob made an attack on the arsenal between nine and ten. The Burgher guard were on duty there. On the first onslaught, then, some of them fired on the mob, killing and wounding five, and the rest ran away; but notwithstanding this success, the citizen soldiers were seized with a panic. They abused those of them who had fired on the mob—assailed and disarmed them, together with the officer in command, and then marched off their post, which they did much at their ease, in consequence of the mob having run quite out of sight at the first volley. The mob had wandered about the city without any defined object, except searching for enemies wherever they felt sure none could exist, and exercising their lungs, and teaching the citizens of Berlin the value of peace and quiet. People never know the value of a thing till they have lost it. About eleven o'clock it appears that the mob got a hint that the arsenal was abandoned, whereupon they again collected round it, and resolved to storm it at all risk, which might be done with great comfort, as there was no one to defend it. How-

* In England such matters are usually arranged by the proctors and bull-dogs, and "therefore note the difference."

ever, the stability of the building resisted all their efforts for a considerable time. The shutters on the ground-floor were heavy and lined with iron plates, and the doors strong, and withstood all their blows, till a heavy beam of timber was got, and applied to the windows as a battering ram. Four withstood all they could do, but the fifth gave way, and through it the crowd entered, and the work of pillage and appropriation began.

During the whole of this time there were 250 regular troops (for a few still remained in the city) inside of the building, who had remained passive at the order of their commanding officer. The mob persuaded him that non-resistance was the only chance of preventing the overthrow of the monarchy—that the king himself was fled—that all the troops had left the city. The captain was weak enough to believe what the mob told him. Had he had the firmness to resist half-an-hour, all the mischief would have been prevented. The last of his soldiers had scarce withdrawn when a reinforcement came up. All the mischief arose from his not acting on the inflexible rule, that it is the first duty of a soldier to maintain his post if tenable, as he best can. This breach of duty cost the state 500,000 dollars. The mob broke in—stole what they could carry away, and destroyed what they could not. The arms were thrown out of the windows, and most of the muskets broken and rendered useless—a fact not perhaps, under the circumstances, so much to be deplored. Antiquities of great value—rare pieces of artillery—arms inlaid with silver and ivory, were stolen or broken in pieces. Trophies taken in the seven years' war, and in the campaigns against Napoleon, were torn in pieces and trampled under foot. It is said that it was not the love of arms that induced the populace to sack the arsenal, but the more vulgar love of plunder: many of the arms were sold afterwards for a few grotes a-piece.

Such were the consequences of the weakness of the king in permitting the best of his troops to leave the capital, and trusting himself to citizen soldiers. The Burgher (or National) Guard in no instance did its duty, or maintained its post. The knowledge of this unsoldier-like quality stimulated the rabble to fresh atrocities. For eight months Berlin was in a chronic state of riot. The bonds of society were loosened, and the respectable part of the population were mob-ridden. The citizens were demoralized—their military duty was not performed from fear—they did not even defend the offices of the king's ministers from invasion. When the mob chose to attack them, they treated them as the degenerate Romans treated the barbarians, and bought them off, upon which they naturally came back for more. On the 22d of August a serious riot occurred. A monarchical club, belonging to an aristocratic quarter, made an attack on a democratic one, who had ventured to set up in their neighbourhood. They administered a flagellation to two of the popular leaders. Upon this the populace proceeded in succession to the houses of the minister of commerce and of the interior to demand an inquiry. This was promised. They then went to the house of M. Auerswald, where they became much excited and very uproarious at the accidental discharge of two pistols, which it does not appear hurt any of them, for they did not run away. A diplomatic soirée was going on there at the time. Not having the sanctity of ambassadors before their eyes, they threw paving-stones in at the window, one of which nearly killed the Bavarian ambassador. They were not dispersed till they had killed a policeman, and wounded thirty. Some lives were lost also on the part of the rioters.

These demonstrations were in great favour in the democratic clubs; several of them voted the captain who had deserted his post at the arsenal to have deserved well of

his country. Added to other difficulties, severe monetary distress prevailed. Thousands of workmen were thrown out of their ordinary employment and daily bread, and went to add to the rabble formed of eight or ten thousand convicts always loose in Berlin—always ready to help at any popular explosion. One ministry succeeded another in rapid succession, but none had a firm enough hand to curb the license of the streets. The Assembly was without character and without power—nothing but force would have done it, but neither they nor the king had the firmness to apply it.

On the 11th of October the discussion of the Prussian constitution began in the Assembly. The first chapter, containing two articles settling the titles of the king, occupied the whole of the first day. The question was, whether he should be termed King by the grace of God—seeing that the mob held that the kingly power proceeded from themselves. Upon this a great fight arose, and on a division the words were negatived by a majority of 217 to 134. On the other hand, they decided that the title should remain "King of Prussia," instead of the more popular one of "King of the Prussians." On the 15th the king's birthday was celebrated. There were some hopes entertained that in answer to the congratulatory addresses presented to him on that occasion, the king might take the opportunity of saying something to allay the ferment, but he did quite the reverse.* Berlin was in the meantime in a state bordering on distraction. The

* Finding that he was to be not recognised as king "by the grace of God," and possibly shocked by the iniquity of the omission, he said to the Assembly, "Remember I am still king by the grace of God." To the commander of the burgher guard, who guaranteed the fidelity of the burgher guard to the constitution of which the Assembly were about to be delivered (a very rash undertaking on his part), the king said, "Remember the burgher guard received their arms from me;" and to the assurances of the city deputies that order would be restored, he suggested that it were better to prove it by deeds than to make promises.

labourers of Cöpermicherfeld assembled, and began breaking up machinery. The burgher guard resisted, and eventually succeeded in driving them off, but not before half a dozen lives were lost. On the 17th there was a renewal of the fray; barricades were erected, and many lives were lost before order was restored, which was not done till towards the evening.

Meanwhile the language of the king on his birthday had offended his then minister, Count Pfuel. The king twice refused his resignation, but as the count persevered, he was at length compelled to accept it, and the minister only held office till a successor could be appointed. On the 30th of October the Assembly resolved "that all Prussians were equal before the law—that there existed neither titles, privileges, nor rank in the state—and that the nobility was abolished." This was intended as a retort on the king. On the next day Herr Waldeck moved a resolution, calling on Government to employ all means in its power to defend the insurgents at Vienna from the Imperial Government. This motion brought on a crisis. A mob of several thousand persons marched to the house to give the democratic party the support of its presence, and to overawe the opposite party by a pressure from without, carrying with them a supply of ropes, nails, and nooses for the avowed purpose of hanging certain obnoxious deputies. They even went so far as to hoot the "friend of the people," Behrhend, whom they accused of being lukewarm, and they singed his long red beard with their torches. But, by some fortunate but unexplained accident, the burgher guard for once did their duty, and defended the chamber and beat the mob. On the retirement of Count Pfuel the king intrusted the formation of a new ministry to his morganatic uncle Count Brandenburg; but this only fanned the flame. The count was known to be devoted to the old absolutist

regime. His appointment threw the Assembly into consternation. They met on the 2d of November, and agreed to the following resolution :—

" In consequence of the information that the Count of Brandenburg has been commissioned to form a new ministry, the National Assembly, in its sitting of this day, has resolved to send a deputation to your Majesty, in order to inform you that this step on the part of your Majesty has occasioned the greatest anxiety among the people, and that it threatens to bring unspeakable misfortunes upon the country. During several past weeks ominous reports respecting the views of the reactionary party have alarmed your Majesty's faithful people. The nomination of the now retiring ministry had not tended to weaken the effect of that report. A government under the auspices of the Count of Brandenburg, without any prospect of obtaining a majority in the National Assembly, or of gaining the confidence of the country, will undoubtedly bring the excitement to a head, and produce melancholy results for your Majesty's capital and country—results which will remind one of the fate of a neighbouring state. Your Majesty was not well informed by your former councillors respecting the situation of the country, if they concealed from you this danger for throne and country. Upon that ground, we supplicate your Majesty, in a manner as respectful as urgent—and your Majesty's heart has always beaten for the welfare of your people—to afford the country, by the appointment of a popular ministry, a fresh guarantee that your Majesty's views are in unison with the wishes of the people."

Twenty-five members waited on the king at Potsdam with this address. During the whole night the populace remained round the house of the Assembly. The burgher guard formed a cordon round it to keep off the people. Great excitement prevailed, but there was no outbreak.

On the 3d the deputation returned and made their report. The king at first had refused to see them unless in the presence of his responsible ministers; but after receiving a telegraphic communication from them, requesting him to see the deputation, he did so, but refused to give an answer in the absence of his ministers, saying that he was anxious to observe constitutional principles, and that he ought not to give an answer without their consent. Upon this he turned away: as he was doing so, one of the deputation, Herr Jacobi, said, "We have been sent here, not only to hand the address to your Majesty, but also to give you information respecting the true state of the country. Will your Majesty hear us?" "No," said the king. "It is the misfortune of kings that they will not hear the truth," said Herr Jacobi: and there the interview terminated. He might with equal truth have added the words, "and peoples," to his axiom.

A violent debate succeeded the communication of this interview to the Assembly, which was, however, adjourned for a time. At three o'clock the king's formal reply was communicated to them. He asserted his right to appoint the count his minister, and added, "We will therefore not withdraw the appointment of the Count of Brandenburg in consequence of rumours and apprehensions, which, as stated in yesterday's address, are prevalent, but which are not justified by any act of our government." Troops were, however, got ready for work.

On the 9th, the list of the new ministry was gazetted, and consisted wholly of persons who were not members of the Assembly.* On the meeting of the Assembly on the 9th, the Count of Brandenburg, Manteufel, and Ludenburg entered the Assembly as ministers, and the Count of Brandenburg rose to address the house. But the president

* Count of Brandenburg, president and minister *ad interim* of foreign affairs; Manteufel, interior; General De Strotha, war; Ludenburg, education Kisker, justice; Kunhe, finance; Pomer-Esche, commerce.

stopped him, saying that he could not speak without obtaining leave of the Assembly. The count was prepared to act, not to talk, and sat down, handing the president a royal decree. It alluded to the display of republican symbols, and to demonstrations of popular force to overawe the Assembly; it stated that it was necessary to transfer its sittings to Brandenburg (where it would be safe from the Berlin mob), and for that purpose prorogued it till the 27th, summoning it on that day to meet at Brandenburg. This decree was a thunderstroke to the Assembly. The reading of it was repeatedly interrupted by cries of "Never, never; we protest—we will not assent, we will perish here sooner—it is illegal—it is unconstitutional—we are masters," and the like. In the midst of the storm, Count Brandenburg rose and said, "In consequence of the royal message just read, I summon the Assembly to suspend its deliberations forthwith, and to adjourn until the day specified. I must at the same time declare all further prolongation of the deliberations to be illegal, and protest against them in the name of the crown." He then, together with the other ministers, left the chamber.

When the excitement had somewhat subsided, a discussion began as to what was to be done next. Two motions were submitted to their consideration: the first by Borneman, requiring ministers to withdraw their message; this motion was lost. The second was divided into three clauses, as follows:—

"For the present there are not sufficient grounds for removing the sitting of the deliberation to any other place—it will therefore remain at Berlin.

"The crown is not entitled to the right of adjourning, removing, or displacing the Chamber against its will.

"The responsible functionaries who may have advised the crown to issue the above message are not qualified to do so or to represent the government; on the contrary,

they have thereby rendered themselves guilty of dereliction of duty towards the crown, the country, and the Assembly."

These three propositions were put separately and carried almost unanimously; but about fifty of the monarchical party had previously withdrawn from the Chamber, leaving about 240 members present. The diplomatic corps, who were sitting in their box during this scene until the resolution was passed setting up the authority of the Assembly in opposition to that of the king, at once retired.

The Assembly resolved to sit in permanence, and the president and some thirty members remained in the house all night. The town was in a feverish state of excitement; the members of the democratic party did their best to persuade the people to a passive resistance; and though mobs gathered together in various quarters, no outbreak took place. The president Unruh called together the Assembly at five o'clock in the morning of the 10th, and his negotiations were communicated to them. The Count Brandenburg had sent him a note in his character of councillor of state, warning him and the Assembly against the illegality of their persisting to meet in Berlin; and saying, that he and they must be answerable for the consequences however grave.

The minority of fifty-nine, who had retired, had formally protested against the continued session of the Assembly in Berlin. They said that it was constituent only—that no place of meeting was named in the writ of summons, and that consequently the king had the right of naming the place, and that it was his duty to move it from a place where it was overawed by mobs to a place of greater safety—that the Assembly was bound to submit, and that any resolutions they might pass would not be binding on any one. Various bodies had sent deputations to the king to remonstrate, but he had not received them. The

burgher guard acted with great discretion on this occasion.*

In consequence, the Assembly met at five instead of nine: 225 members were present. The president addressed the house, recommending them to maintain an attitude of dignified resistance. Every drop of blood shed through their fault must injure and could not benefit their cause—the blood of the citizens must not be squandered, but reserved for other occasions. At eight o'clock, the members are said to have breakfasted in the house. The burgher guard surrounded the house in dense masses, and the rabble outside naturally showed their sympathy with the Assembly as resisting lawful authority. They were addressed by several orators, and advised to keep peaceable. About noon, when it was announced that the soldiers were coming and were leaving their camp, one said "it was their duty to guard the rights of the people. This they had done to their utmost. A hostile army was approaching. That army, alas! was their own. It was advancing against the capital—against 225 *peaceable* men (meaning themselves). They should issue a proclamation which would contain nothing that would not meet with universal approval. It would be a protest against this act of oppression, and would merely call on the people to limit their opposition to legal measures. Who knew how long they might remain together? Let then this proclamation be their last will and testament—a testament whence the green tree of liberty may spring forth afresh should our

* The president of the police sent to Rimpler, the commander, to ask whether the guard intended to act on the morning and close by force the hall of the Assembly. The captains of the guard met, and resolved to protect the Assembly in the following very prudent manner: they would close round them, and protect them from violence on the part of the people. They would stand with ordered arms between the Assembly and the troops; but if the troops would advance in spite of the protest of themselves and the president, that they should walk off and let the troops and the Chamber have out the fray between themselves, and not interfere in the matter.

enemies apply the axe to its roots." The speech meant that if their existence was curtailed, at any rate let them do as much mischief in the short time left them as they conveniently could—a course at once prudent and patriotic.

A committee of five was appointed to draw up the proclamation. While they were doing so, some of the members began to put on their greatcoats, and others rushed to the windows and showed signs of considerable uneasiness at the advance of the troops, and were preparing to flee, but they were recalled by a cry of "Gentlemen, to your seats." The great seal of the Assembly was brought out of its baize bag and laid in an imposing manner on the president's desk. The committee entered and read the proclamation. "The Brandenburg ministry," it ran, "formed against the unanimous wish of the National Assembly, had, by its first act, interrupted their deliberations and decreed their removal—the Assembly of Prussian deputies had resisted this assault on their rights by deciding that the deliberations should continue in Berlin. It had also declared that it disavowed the right of the crown to remove, prorogue, or dissolve it: that it considered the advisers of the crown, who had recommended this course, to be unfit to govern the land, and even to have violated their duties. The Brandenburg ministry had, in consequence of their declaration, pronounced their prolongation of their deliberations to be illegal, and threatened to employ measures of military compulsion. Fellow-citizens, we address you at the moment the National Assembly is about to be dispersed by bayonets; stand firm for the liberties for which we stake our life and blood; do not deviate from the path of legality; firmness and moderation will, with God's help, cause liberty to triumph."

At four o'clock the president rose and informed the house that the Chamber was completely surrounded by the military. The commandant of the burgher guard

had asked General Wrangel why he had assembled his troops? He replied that he came to protect the Assembly, but that he should be really glad to get into his quarters as soon as was practicable. The commandant had replied that the Assembly declined the honour of his protection; and asked, under those circumstances, how long he intended to keep his troops there. He intimated that he should remain a week if the Assembly sat as long; and that his troops were accustomed to bivouack. At five the president informed them that General Wrangel persisted in continuing the blockade. He would be happy to allow the members to leave the house, but should allow none to return. As to the Assembly, the only one he knew of had been dissolved. Thereupon, acting under the advice of the president, the Assembly agreed to submit to force, and to protest, and withdrawing for the present to reassemble next day somewhere else. The soldiers made passages—the deputies marched out two and two through the columns, and the burgher guard followed them. The mob was addressed from houses, and recommended to keep quiet, which they appeared willing to do, and the town assumed the appearance of calm.

On the next morning 240 of the expelled deputies met in the great hall of the rifle guild, where they proceeded to transact their usual business. The public bodies in both the capital and the provinces sent them addresses of condolence. The Town Council voted the freedom of the city to the president Unruh and two other members. The Assembly appointed a committee to prepare a report of these events to lay before the nation. Another committee was appointed to consider the expediency of impeaching ministers, and of stopping the supplies, in case they persevered in their present course. It was reported to the Assembly that an intention existed on the part of the government of disbanding the burgher guard. This

produced immense excitement. They resolved that those who advised the measure were traitors to their country; they forbad the burgher guard to surrender their arms, and declared that they would be traitors if they did, and ordered them to defend themselves against all attempts to disarm them. Some hours after a royal proclamation appeared, by which the burgher guard was disbanded, in consequence of their illegal behaviour on the previous day, but containing assurances that the king would in no way infringe the liberty granted to the people, and that this step was necessary to the future welfare of the state.

"To all of you," it ran, "I give you this inviolable assurance that nothing shall be abrogated from your constitutional liberties: that it shall be my holiest endeavour to be unto you, by the help of God, a good constitutional king, so that we may mutually erect a stately and tenable edifice, beneath whose roof, to the weal of our German fatherland, our posterity may quietly and peacefully rejoice in the blessings of genuine and true liberty for generations to come.—May the blessing of God rest upon our work." The citizens met, and agreed to refuse to disband or to give up their arms. The city wore a threatening aspect; families departed, and suspicious foreigners were arriving; order was with difficulty maintained. The Assembly met in the hall of the rifle guild: deputations and addresses from the provinces poured in; one came from the representatives of the two Mecklenburgs, promising assistance, and approving of the conduct of the Assembly. Another came from Magdeburg, together with a remittance of 5000 dollars for the deputies, whose pay had of course been stopped.

General Wrangel determined, at six o'clock, to place the city under martial law, and a state of siege was forthwith proclaimed at the corners of the principal streets; but an additional day was given the citizens for delivering up their arms; the soldiers in large bodies marched through

the streets dispersing the crowd. The democratic members of Assembly, finding that they were outmatched in force, again exhorted the people to be quiet, in which they were assisted by the artisans of the great iron-works, who went about saying, "Be cool, be quiet." It was clear that the patriots had no idea of facing real soldiers, who were prepared to act. With the burgher guard it had been otherwise; but they had a wholesome dread of powder and shot. Cold steel is at times a specific for civil fever when other remedies have failed.

By these means the night passed without outbreak. Next day, during the sittings of the Assembly, it was interrupted by one of General Wrangel's officers entering and ordering it to disperse as an illegal meeting. The vice-president was in the chair, which he refused to leave unless forced. In this resolve the whole house joined him, shouting, "never till forced by arms." Upon this, the officer called in two or three more, with a party of soldiers, and again ordered the meeting to disperse; he received the same answer. Thereupon the soldiers treated the president with great good-humour; they calmly advanced, and as he refused to leave his chair, they quietly lifted him on it, and carrying him gently into the street, set him down there. The members followed their president, and protested against this violation of his dignity. The military having in this singular and somewhat comic manner dissolved the meeting, withdrew from the scene. The mob bestowed an exemplary ovation on the representatives, and then dispersed.

On the next day the people still continued to assemble in masses, notwithstanding the proclamation of a state of siege, wherever the military did not prevent them; and wherever the military came they ran away from them with great discretion. Towards night an order was published to the soldiers to fire on all persons persisting in assembling or in remaining together after a summons to disperse, and

forbear no longer. The ex-president of the Assembly had an audience with the king, who is said to have replied to his remonstrances, that he knew that his crown was at stake, but that he was determined not to yield.

Reasonable men would have thought that the Assembly had shown quite sufficient determination to meet, but at that time the Assembly was not in a reasonable frame of mind, and persisted; to which end they came together on the 15th, at the hall of the Town Council. They were just about to begin what they were pleased to call business, when a battalion of infantry drew up before the hall and occupied the doors; the officer in command entered, and politely, but peremptorily, requested them to withdraw, and at the same time showed them General Wrangel's written orders to that effect. After a short discussion among themselves the members withdrew under protest, and the troops marched back to their barracks.

In the evening 226 members of the Assembly gathered together at a coffee-house on the Linden, and went through the form of opening a sitting. Their first business was to debate the question of refusing taxes. Two propositions were laid before them. The first was—"No minister is authorized to levy taxes till this resolution be revoked." The second was this—"The National Assembly decrees that the Brandenburg ministry is not authorized to levy taxes or to disburse the public money until the National Assembly can fulfil its duties in safety at Berlin—this resolution to take effect from the 17th of November next ensuing." The call of the house had scarce ended when a field-officer entered the apartment in which they were met, accompanied by half-a-dozen soldiers who were posted at the door, while the regiment to which they belonged was drawn up in the street outside. The officer told the members that he had orders from General Wrangel to cause the chamber to be evacuated. The president asked

the officer for his warrant, who replied that he had no written order, but that he hoped his word would not be doubted. The president said he did not doubt his word, but that it was his duty to see his written warrant. The officer said he could not do so. General Wrangel had refused to give him written instructions. The members exclaimed that it was shameful. The president then asked the intruder if he had orders to employ force? He replied, he hoped that they would not drive him to that extremity. "I must demand categorically," said the president, "whether you have or not orders to employ force of arms?" "I have," said the officer. "And you mean to employ it?" said the president. "I do," said the officer. The members sat still and whispered to each other. The president said, "Under these circumstances I declare that force has been exercised towards the Assembly, and that I am compelled——" Here he was interrupted by cries of "No, never!—a thousand times no! We will not leave the room though we were run through with bayonets." Sixty or seventy deputies sprang towards the officer as with the intention of expelling him by force, and the rest crowded round the table of the president. The room was in a state of confusion and uproar. All men talked and none listened. The officer and his escort, in the meantime, held their ground with perfect coolness, but took the precaution of communicating with the troops outside. After some time, order was partially restored. There was a general cry from the members to go on with the deliberations. They would bear no more interruptions, and ordered the room to be cleared of strangers. The officer approached the chair, conferred a few moments with the president, returned to his escort, and then retired with them outside the door, and sent a messenger to head-quarters for further instructions. The members returned to their seats, and

the resolution before the House was carried by acclamation. The president rose and officially declared the passing of the resolution prohibiting the levying of taxes, and proposed that the house should adjourn; announcing that he would communicate to each member individually the time and place of the next meeting.

The members then dispersed, exulting in having done as much mischief as they conveniently could to the ministry of Count Brandenburg. They made no further attempt to meet, although, to give it full effect, the resolution to refuse the taxes ought to have been confirmed; and even then would not have been valid, as they had no authority to pass any such vote. There is no doubt, in point of law, that the king had the power of appointing what place of meeting he thought right. There is no doubt, in point of principle, that he was right in removing the Assembly from a position where all the men of common sense stood in danger of their lives from the uncontrolled license of a profligate rabble in the streets.

The Assembly having been thus disposed of, the ministry began to carry out their task of disarming the citizens. They took their measures so effectually that resistance would have been vain had it been attempted; but it was not. It is shrewdly suspected that the citizens themselves had come to look on the possession of arms as disagreeable, exposing them at all hours to be taken from their comfortable beds to keep watch and ward in the public behalf—a patriotic occupation of which they were heartily sick. Their military performances during their embodiment were not such as to entitle them to the gratitude of their country. Against civil broils they were perfectly inefficient; the mob calculated without error on their timidity; indeed, the first show of fighting usually induced them to march off; or, in plain language, they had an insuperable objection to the casualties of conflict, and

avoided them at all risks. In consequence of this civic propensity the mob did exactly as they liked. Such a body could be of no use in preserving order—witness the palace stormed, the arsenal pillaged, and the Chamber frequently threatened, and at last invaded, and voting under the terror of mob-rule in the presence of 30,000 armed men. Their most dangerous quality was the possession of arms, which, though they did not use themselves, were easily at the disposal of the mob, who might. In fact, they were an arsenal for them.

These measures were carried out without the effusion of a drop of blood. Popular commotion had run its round, commencing with the weakness of the king in withdrawing the troops and giving way to the tyranny of the mob; democratic license ended—as it always has ended—in military despotism, as sooner or later it always must. The reason of this is, that order is the first necessity of civil society; by some means or other order has to be re-established by force; and this order is obliged to be all the more stringent in consequence of the depraved habits into which the turbulent have got during its temporary relaxation. Count Brandenburg's ministry was a curious exemplification of this truth in two ways. After the most learned doctors and philosophers had for months been endeavouring to reduce the state to something like order by theories and philosophy, recourse was obliged to be had to a military man—of no political philosophy, but with good practical sense—who solved the difficulty by the admirable efficiency of his practical measures as above related.*

* Be it remembered, that object for which the Assembly contended was, in point of fact, the universal disorder of all Prussia until it pleased their wisdoms to leave off talking and do something efficient. There was, no doubt, among the party of theorists, violent indignation at the exertion of authority which put an end to their blundering. That these men should grant that the city was in such a state as to require to be kept down by force, is not to be expected. They who are most obstinate in forcing their views and opinions

That the state of Berlin was not agreeable to the respectable citizens cannot be doubted, for trade was put a stop to by the state of siege; the houses stood empty, and families who had returned again left the city; the streets appeared nearly deserted, and the general appearance of the town was dreary beyond description; no one was to be seen but a few work-people and the military patrols. But, notwithstanding these circumstances annoying to the citizens, it is evident that they were aware of the necessity of the government, and testified their approval of the course they had pursued by the enthusiastic reception which was given to the king and queen at the Berlin opera-house a few nights after.

The popular sympathy, which was at first engaged in behalf of the National Assembly, was speedily forfeited by that body, because of its own inefficiency and misconduct. The people soon became fully aware of the illegal and dangerous nature of their claims and acts. They knew that the right of the king to prorogue the Assembly and dissolve the burgher guard was undoubted, and that the denial of that right by the Assembly was a simple usurpation of authority which did not belong to it. The people had for so many months suffered the incessant disorders of these philanthropic reformers; they had come to know the value of quiet; consequently their sympathies

upon others, are naturally more indignant than others when their mischievous crotchets are pulled straight by force. It is a symptom of the true democratical mind to justify the utmost atrocities used against their opponents, and yet there are none so loud in their outcry when any coercion, how justifiable soever, is used against themselves. None are so ready to put their hands in their neighbours' pockets, either fiscally or privately, instead of in their own—none so ready to hang and decapitate when in authority—none so ready to imprison or banish—but none, also, so loud in their reprobaches when, for the safety of society, their own patriotic persons are similarly treated. In fact, their faith appears to be, that a good democrat may—by virtue of his political faith—rob, murder, pillage, pilfer, and do all other enormities without blame, which, if perpetrated by others, would be worthy of the most righteous indignation.

were all on the side of order, and the side of order was the king's side.

The business of the Assembly was to agree on a constitution, which they had neglected in order to attend to other matters in which they were not authorized to interfere. They were elected for the only purpose which they chose not to perform; their last act, as the mover of the resolution expressly stated, was intended to throw the country into anarchy. The people having become aware of the object, and not concurring in it, paid the taxes —indeed a large proportion of them were voluntarily paid in advance—to testify disapproval of the conduct of the Assembly, and sympathy with the regular government. Even the Frankfort parliament, irregular theorists as they were, were unable to approve of the conduct of the Berlin Assembly. They declared the acts of the Rump, which continued to attempt to meet, to be null and void—advised the king to appoint a minister enjoying the confidence of the country—(not the Assembly)—and declared that they would protect the people against any infringement of their rights.*

* They had sent Herr Basserman to Berlin to report for them on the crisis then pending, and as a man of liberal principles, his report was not likely to be prejudiced against the popular movement. On his return he reported that the mob who held the town was a most profligate, disreputable, and detestable one; that what he saw was most disgusting. The aspect of the men who formed the population in the streets he would not describe; the Assembly was surrounded by a most detestable mob. He had been present at the sitting of those members who had persisted in meeting. Ever since, he had been in constant communication with Unruh, with members of all parties, and even with a deputation of the democratic clubs. He was therefore able to form an accurate opinion of the state of things. It was a state most appalling. The liberty of the press he described as atrociously absurd. The most mischievous placards and flying sheets were printed, posted, and circulated. One he described particularly, called the "Republican's Dream." It represented a man asleep, with a number of lamps round about him, and a man hanging from each—(a consummation which the dreamer was supposed devoutly to wish for). The red flag had been hoisted before the very door of the Assembly. The most cruel threats had been uttered against the unpopular members. Three times had they desired the Assembly to pass laws to protect them from mob-intimidation—as often

The regent of Germany issued a proclamation, deploring the dispute between the king and the Assembly, and ordering them to make it up, which had not however the desired effect.

On the 25th of November, the day appointed, the Assembly met at Brandenburg. The democratic party absented themselves, and the rest of the Assembly was not sufficient to constitute a legal house—a state of things which continued some days—the senior deputy present acting as president for the time. Nothing but desultory conversation took place. At last the members of the democratic party entered the house in a body, with Unruh at their head, and tried one vote, but finding themselves in a minority, withdrew, and reduced the Assembly again to incapacity. The remaining members adjourned to the 7th of December, when it was expected that the democrats would assemble in full strength and re-elect Unruh

had the democratic party refused to do so; and on the other hand confided its members to the safeguard of the people—(quasi agnum committere lupo). On the very staircase of the Assembly an orator called on the populace to come next time with pickaxes and short knives, saying it was easier to find obnoxious persons when so provided—a hint on which they had acted. He had seen Count Brandenburg and Herr Manteufel. They were, he said, determined to put down anarchy, but at the same time would not infringe the liberties of the people. He had attempted to mediate between the government and the Assembly, but found the latter utterly impracticable. One of their most influential members had said that the terms on which the Assembly would treat were the banishment of the royal princes—the prosecution of the present ministers and General Wrangel for high treason—and the assurance of the king that he would execute the decrees of the Assembly, and cease to intermeddle in the government. He said he had tried to explain that such a government would be a republic, and such an Assembly a convention, but to no purpose. He said the king, on the other hand, was much more German at heart than he anticipated. He was determined to carry out the resolution of the Assembly with regard to Posen—but equally determined to put an end to the disorders of Prussia. The king looked on it as his grand duty to save Prussia and Germany from ruin, but was aware of the ill consequences of retracting concessions, but that this was not to be feared from him. The state of Berlin had prevented Herr Basserman conferring with the Prussian members on German affairs, and he found that it was impossible to do any good at Berlin. He had therefore to return to Frankfort, and concluded his report by earnestly entreating them to complete the German constitution before it was too late.

as president, and reiterate their resolution to refuse the payment of taxes.

In order to counteract this anticipated move by the opposite party, the king, on the 5th, declared the Constituent Assembly dissolved; and as the Assembly had neglected their duty in preparing a constitution, he accompanied his proclamation by a complete draft of one of his own drawing. The democratic party had no reason to complain of it. It was modelled after that of Belgium, one of the most popular in Europe, and fully realized for Prussia what the king had promised at the first outbreak of the revolution. It proclaimed equality of all Prussians before the law; it granted freedom of the person, right to emigrate, freedom of the press. Declared that letters were inviolable; offences of diffusing ideas were only to be under the jurisdiction of the ordinary penal code. The civil ceremony was to give validity to marriage. Feudal tenures, entails, and privileges of rank were abolished. The person of the king was inviolable, but his ministers were responsible. The legislature was to consist of two chambers; the first consisting of 182 members. All persons paying 24s. a-year direct taxes, or having £75 a-year worth of land, had a vote in electing the direct electors of this chamber. The direct electors of the lower chamber were elected by universal suffrage. The members of the first chamber must be forty years of age, and five years resident in Prussia. The lower chamber consisted of 350 members, twenty-four years of age being the limit, and resident six months. The judges were only to be removable by court of law, and the authorities might be proceeded against without leave first obtained for overstepping their duty. All exemptions from taxes were abolished; laws and ordinances were only to be valid when passed in legal form; but on urgent occasions, when the chamber was not sitting, the whole ministry together,

on their own responsibility, might publish an ordinance, and give it the force of law, but were to submit it to the approval of the Assembly at their next session. The constitution was to be liable to alteration immediately after the first meeting of the chamber by itself.

After having thus put an end to the misconduct of the Assembly, and after having performed the office which it was their duty to have performed, the next care of the government was to expel from Berlin all the fomenters of rebellion and conspiracy they could lay their hands on. Several persons who had been ringleaders in the riots subsequent to the amnesty in March, were taken, tried, and imprisoned for their misdeeds. Nor did their fellow-citizens, who had been much plagued by them when in the ascendant, exhibit any vehement signs of sympathy for them in their misfortunes. To mark their sense of the conduct of the members of the late Assembly, neither would the judges sit with them, nor the magistrates discuss local matters with them. "All the disorders had in fact been perpetrated by a very insignificant minority of the people, who wished to tyrannize over the rest; and when the king put them down, the rest of the people greatly rejoiced. Thus then order was restored, law resumed its authority, and the revolution came to an end in Prussia. The amount of suffering it produced while it lasted may be gathered from the fact of twenty persons on an average being daily struck off the list of tradesmen, or in other words, became bankrupt during its continuance for seven months, in Berlin alone.

On the 1st of January 1849, the following order of the day was published to the army by order of his majesty :—

"I congratulate my brave army, the line, and the landwehr, on the opening of the new year. At the close of that fateful year 1848, it is a heartfelt pleasure for me to express my acknowledgments to it for its unequalled conduct. When, without God's assistance, Prussia would have sunk under

treason and deception, my army has preserved its old renown and acquired fresh glory. Both king and people regard with pride the sons of our fatherland. They remained faithful when revolt prevented the peaceful development of those free institutions, which I had introduced to my people. When Germany required its arms in Schlesvig, it covered our banners with new laurels. When the insurrection in Posen was to be suppressed, it underwent victoriously both toils and dangers; its co-operation in the task of preserving order in South Germany acquired anew a tribute of acknowledgment of the Prussian name. Finally, when in Prussia itself the violation of the laws made necessary the interposition of the armed power and the calling out the landwehr, the men of that force cheerfully abandoned house and hearth, wife and children, to discharge their duty; and both landwehr and the troops of the line justified the confidence I have always reposed in them, and proved how admirable is that organization of the whole army which was established by the late king my father. Everywhere the troops have done their duty. But higher still than their achievements in the field do I value that conduct they have observed for months together under the most detestable attacks—under insults, slanders, and attempts to seduce them from their allegiance; against which they have opposed, unshaken, their spirit of loyalty, and a noble self-command. I knew my army—where I called them, there they stood prepared, in unbroken fidelity and perfect discipline. In Prussia's most glorious epochs the troops could have done no more. To the generals, officers, and soldiers of the standing army and the landwehr I return thanks, both in my own name and in that of our common country. "FREDERICK WILLIAM.

"*Potsdam, Jan.* 1, 1849."

Civil revolt had been quelled by military fidelity.

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CHAPTER IV.

GERMANY TO THE RESTORATION OF THE DIET OF THE CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE.

THE much vaunted central government sitting at Frankfort no doubt had all the stage effect requisite for governing. There was a Regent and a full ministry appointed, and an Assembly professing to be a German Parliament. Whether the Regent ruled over anything, and whether the Assembly represented the German people, remains to be seen. The government issued circulars to the diplomatists of the several German states, ordering them not to interfere in Imperial questions. It several times interfered, but was only obeyed, as we have seen, where the sovereign who received the order found it his interest to obey it. The question is, was it a real power or not? A real power must be backed by gunpowder and shot. Unless it can coerce by military force, the *regum ultima ratio*, it is obvious that authority is mythical. Authority is not wanted to rule the willing, but the reluctant.* Now, practically, what was proposed was, that some

* What the views of the Regent's imperial government were had best be given in the words of his first minister of the interior, Prince Leiningen: "The nation must decide whether it really will have a united and powerful Germany: it is of the utmost importance that it should elucidate this question to

one should be chosen emperor of all Germany; that he should be under the power of an Assembly nominally

its own satisfaction, and thereupon lay down its will. As there is only one kind of real liberty which rests on law and order, so there is but one sort of unity,—an actual union of all the component parts as a whole, and that too in such a manner as to avert the possibility of any dispute or contest between the whole and its parts. If any other course be pursued, not singleness or unity, but discord and separation will be established. If the German nation will therefore have unity, it must not only will the means thereto, but adopt the consequences thereof: there can be no more opposition of Bavarian, Prussian, Saxon, or any other interests to those of Germany; for the former must be absorbed in the latter. Jealousy between individual states, revilings of the northern by the southern parts of the empire, or *vice versa*, are therefore mischievous absurdities: opposition or disobedience to the imperial authority or the national assembly, however, is a crime against the majesty of the nation itself, a treason to the fatherland, which must speedily be followed by condign punishment. Dynastic interests, so far as they refer to the imperial power, cannot, if the nation wills unity, be taken into consideration; for princes are as much called on to conform to that will as any other German. If, therefore, the nation would convert words into deeds, it must admonish the imperial power, that is to say, the national assembly and the central government, to adopt with rapidity and precision, and without regard to collateral interests, all such measures as correspond with the object of restoring a free and united Germany, and moreover lend its own hearty support in aid of the work. To retrograde to a confederation of states, or to establish a weak federal state by a powerfully impressed independence of the individual states, would only create a mournful period of transition to fresh catastrophes and revolutions. Great ideas, such as have now gained possession of the German mind, although they may once more slumber for a time, will break out afresh notwithstanding with renewed force. The danger of harbouring in Germany revolutionary movements, or perchance civil war for a series of years, is far too great not only to our own country but to Europe, nay to civilisation itself, not to render imperative every effort to avert so dire a calamity. It is a serious duty of the imperial power, that is to say, of the imperial government and the national assembly, supported by the national will, to devote itself with courage and decision to the fulfilment of this great mission. The imperial power must, so far as may be necessary, absorb in itself the government of individual states: it must unremittingly undertake the thereto requisite organization of Germany. It must, whilst establishing the organism of imperial government, reduce that of individual states. A perfectly established central rule, in which again other perfectly established states of larger or smaller size were encased, would be virtually a monstrosity, and at the same time so expensive that the nation would not tolerate it. Experience, too, would soon teach us that sovereignty is not divisible. The imperial power must, above all, abolish as speedily as possible the diplomatic intercourse of the individual states at home and abroad, and concentrate it in its own hands. This is a vital

elected by Germany, but really by professors and doctors of philosophy; that this authority should command the sovereigns of Germany, who were to be in fact deprived of all their authority in their own dominions. They were, in short, to be quietly laid on the shelf, without any sovereign power whatever, but were to be treated with outward respect, and called kings and princes, and in fact be converted into a laughing-stock to mankind.

Shortly after the outbreak at Frankfort, Struvè again invaded Baden at the head of a column of 2000 Italians, Poles, and French. General Hofman, who was despatched against the rebels, came up with them near Staufen, where he completely routed them, and then advanced on Staufen, which he surrounded. After a somewhat obstinate defence it was taken by storm. Some houses were burned, many persons were killed, and some hundreds were taken prisoners; among them Struvè himself. He and some eighty of his immediate followers were at once tried by a court-martial, condemned, and shot; a sentence certainly justified by the laws of nations at least.

In the month of November, when the Austrian capital

question. It will and must equally honour and equally represent the interests of every part of Germany. It must appropriate to itself the unconditional disposal of the national forces, and take such measures respecting them as it may deem advisable; it must advance the customs lines to the frontier of Germany; it must not allow the government of the constituent state assemblies dependent on it to occupy themselves with matters that pertain to the national assembly alone. If, however, obedience to the original power be refused, punishment must follow with all speed; it must summon to its bar and call to strict account all disobedient ministers, generals, or other public functionaries. It must dissolve state assemblies and *corps d'armée* if they oppose its command; only in this way will the imperial power be able to carry into effect the will of the nation, to restore a free and united Germany,—supposing, of course, that such is really its will; only in this way it will obtain the requisite power for the reintroduction of order, the restoration of tranquillity, and at the same time progress at home; only in this way will it succeed in the satisfactory solution of those social questions which neither eloquence and oratory, nor the thunders of artillery, are henceforth in a position to dispose of in perpetuity."

was taken by Windischgratz, among the persons then executed was Robert Blum, the republican member for Leipsig. He was in company with Fröbel, another deputy, who though condemned lived to tell the tale. Great was the indignation of the Frankfort parliament. It appeared from his story that they had armed, but were not actually engaged; that they retired to their hotel, and there remained; that they were arrested on the taking of the city; that Blum was executed immediately on his protesting against his arrest on the ground of being a deputy, as a personal insult to that Assembly; that he himself had been condemned, but let off by the commander-in-chief. For what reason the position of a deputy was supposed to exempt him from the legal consequences of being found fighting with rebels against their sovereigns, he does not mention. The execution may have been harsh; but it appears to have been strictly legal according to the law of nations. It has yet to be shown that the character of a German senator gives sanctity to a person aiding and abetting in the perpetration of high treason.* It was, however, on the part of Austria, a direct taunt and open defiance to the Assembly, and intended as such; and as such was the intention, it might have been exhibited in a manner more humane.†

The year of revolutions was ended, and no constitution

* It may have been very easy for the Frankfort philosophers to vote themselves inviolable, but it would have been as prudent, under such circumstances, to have voted themselves invisible.

† Capital punishment, even when in strict accordance with legal right, is a painful extremity, not to be resorted to except in cases of necessity. To execute the ringleaders of an insurrection may be a state-necessity, and in the long-run may even be a merciful policy. But Blum does not appear to have been a leader of the Vienna insurrection. He was obnoxious as a republican; he was conspicuous as a member of the Frankfort parliament; the Austrians caught him, and to show their defiance to both they executed him. Granting their legal right, were there sufficient reasons for exercising that right? The Assembly was excessively indignant, and vented its indignation in strong language,—its only weapon,—protesting solemnly

had yet come out of the hands of the Frankfort parliament. Since they had met they had done absolutely nothing; they had wasted their time in profitless discussions, had postponed every important practical matter as not urgent, and Germany had begun to suspect their incompetency. One of the most curious parts of this anarchy of professors, was the means by which it was rendered impossible for them to do anything. This was effected by the club machinery. Every member of the Assembly was also a member of one or other of six or seven clubs, representing some six or seven shades of political opinion. These clubs were established at the different hotels and coffee-houses. All matters brought before the parliament were previously debated in the clubs; the way their members should vote was decided on—they were all to vote together; it was also decided what members of the club were to speak.*

The greatest obstacle to a united Germany was the

before all Germany against the act, and called on the central executive to use its utmost endeavours to call the parties to account who had committed the offence and punish them. But what could they do, unsupported as they were by any body of military? what are negotiations and diplomatists unbacked by bayonets? Commissioners were sent to Vienna to investigate, but they could do nothing; they made a show of doing, but the matter was hushed up: no one was called to account, no one was punished. The Assembly at Dresden also took up the matter, and their ambassador was called on to get it explained; but eventually the affair blew over and was forgotten.

* The independent members from all Germany were converted into a set of delegates from so many spouting-clubs established at Frankfort. The regulations of all the clubs were as follows:—"Each member binds himself, before bringing into the National Assembly any motion, amendment, or question to ministers, of his own, to submit the same to the consideration of the club to be debated upon; and, if not approved by a majority of the club at their ordinary meeting, to give up his proposed motion, amendment, or question;—any exception to this rule can only be allowed in unforeseen cases, arising in the course of proceedings while the National Assembly is sitting, and then only with the consent of the president of the club. The club will be united as much as possible in voting on isolated questions that may come before the National Assembly. When in a special meeting, or a meeting of half the club at least, two-thirds of the members present declare the question to be a

Austrian Empire. The object of the Austrian government for a number of years, and the special object of Count Stadion, then their minister, was to reduce all her hetero-

party-question, no member in the minority shall speak or vote in the National Assembly against the view adopted by the majority of the club upon the question. For the bringing forward the views and decisions of the club in the National Assembly, both in open and party questions, the club appoints beforehand the speakers from among themselves who are to speak in the National Assembly upon the question." All members of the Assembly were members of one or the other of these clubs; from the extreme conservatives to the Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity gentlemen, whose members adopted social republicanism and the rights of labour, but repudiated communism. The consequences of such arrangements were easy to foresee. Whatever had to be performed for the evening entertainment at the Paulus Kirche, was rehearsed overnight and in the morning at the various coffee-houses and public-houses in Frankfort. An arrangement more admirable for "bunkum" and the obstruction and retardation of business could scarce be imagined. It was as if in our House there was not only one "brass band," but six or seven brass bands, to one of which each member belonged. A very limited imagination might conceive the very small portion of business that could be transacted in an Assembly so constituted. The argument that these clubs represent public opinion does not hold water. In the first place, they can only partially represent the opinion of even the urban populace, who are not a majority in society, but merely have a majority of noise. But the great body of the middle and upper classes, and the country population—bodies who, though usually less excitable on political subjects, are noway less intelligent, and considerably more deliberate—are totally unrepresented; a consummation devoutly wished for by certain politicians in all countries. Clubs and itinerant orators are only the organization of a determined minority, to give themselves an appearance more formidable—and, in fact, to make a greater show than the majority who remain quiet. Club opinion is not the opinion of the people; it is opinion ready-made, sent down from the parent club for the adoption of the discontented. Another great evil arising from the club system is the low tone of public morals engendered by it. For, be it remembered, that those things dishonourable or dishonest in an individual, are neither honourable nor honest in a statesman or a state, despite the occasional practice to the contrary of persons of eminence. Alexander Somerville's account of the Anti Corn-law League does not convey an idea of the strict veracity of club agitators, even for a practical object. Much greater was the departure from the rules of ordinary morality, when passions were stimulated by the mutual hate of contending philosophers. Besides all these causes of doing nothing, the members from various states wished to put their own monarch on the Imperial throne. For this purpose, intrigues were set on foot; long-winded, speculative professors were encouraged to consume the hours in profitless talk; procrastination was the object of many to weary out their opponents; and as it was the object of each party to secure to its own sove-

geneous elements to a uniform state. Germans, Sclaves, Roumans, Wallachs, Magyars, and Italians were all to be governed from Vienna—the institutions peculiar to each province were to be destroyed. The Austrian constituent Assembly did as all the German constituent Assemblies did; it talked and did nothing. The emperor, early in 1849, took the matter in hand, as had done the King of Prussia, and published a uniform constitution for all his states, dissolving at the same time the Assembly, which had been previously banished from Vienna. It had become odious and contemptible to every one. Having patronized all the riots and protected the assassins of the Vienna revolutions, almost their last act was a frantic endeavour to reinstate themselves in the opinion of the people by a resolution, that "all the powers of the state proceed from the people alone," and a string of similar resolutions which were to form their bill of rights. Count

reign the empire, with as much power as possible—so it was also their practice, when they found they could not succeed in that object, and that the crown was to be offered to some other person, to impose on it such conditions as should render it as unacceptable as possible. Postponement, too, would have the effect of restoring to the great powers their more natural position at the head of affairs; for the excitement of the people wearing off would gradually let things tend to fall back again into their old course. Hence it was the policy of Von Gagern and his ministry to allow as much dawdling as possible, in order to restore the predominance of Prussia. Hence, when it became clear that the Imperial crown would be offered to the king of Prussia, it became the policy of the Austrian party to clog the Imperial crown with so many provisos and restrictions, or to make it as unacceptable as possible to him; a charitable endeavour, in which they entirely succeeded, with the help of those who were usually most bitterly opposed to them—the extreme left, or violent republicans. Such conduct of the members was treachery to the cause they undertook, or it was extreme folly. One circumstance which tended more than any other to their eventual overthrow, was the postponement as not urgent of the very obvious course of administering an oath to the civil and military functionaries throughout Germany to obey their orders. The consequence was, that these had no excuse for obeying them even if they had wished it, and disobeying their more immediate sovereign. It is said that, had the landwehr troops throughout Germany been sworn to obey the Regent, they would have done so, and prevented the German unity from falling to pieces.

Stadion immediately rose and protested, and the sitting was adjourned.

The constitution proclaimed by the emperor was not apparently very illiberal, though endeavouring to centralize everything in the capital, destroying old institutions that people were used to and liked, to produce an apparent uniformity not worth having when produced. The non-German parts of the Austrian dominions were no part of the German Empire, and could not and would not become so. If Austria became a part of the German Empire, either she would have to separate from her provinces, or give up her darling scheme of a uniform government. The views of the central ministry will be best given in the words of Von Gagern himself:

"The revolution, which was the cause of the existence of the present Assembly, had been chiefly the result of the conviction of the German people that they did not occupy that prominent position among the people of Europe which was due to them. That feeling had, of course, been strongest in the smaller states, and weakest in Austria. The grand problem of the best friends of the fatherland had been how to raise the structure of a powerful unity, without at the same time overthrowing the whole of the old order of things. The form of a federal state had then presented itself—a common government, supported by the will and manifested by the representatives of the nation, was generally felt as a want. To create such a government and such a representation by means of the constitution, he considered as the task of the Assembly. What he aimed at was not the supremacy of Prussia, but a strong German government. Those who should suppose him to be actuated by any other motives than his zeal for the entire German fatherland, would do him wrong. He would confess himself vanquished as soon as it could be proved that Austria would submit to any German govern-

ment not exclusively Austrian. It was not his wish that Austria should secede from the German constitution, but he firmly believed that she would not accede to it. He hoped that M. Von Schmerling would assist him in paving the way for arriving at such an understanding with Austria as would not delay the progress of the German constitution, but further it. He by no means underrated the extreme importance of the present question, but felt deeply convinced that the welfare of the fatherland was at stake. Without concealing his desire of embracing all the members of Germany in one constitution and under one government, he did not see how this could be obtained. He therefore considered himself a friend to his country if he requested honourable members to aim at what could be carried into effect."*

* The following extract from a note addressed by Austria to Frankfort gives her own views on the subject. Austria wished, in short, to carry out the principles of the Confederation of the Rhine, not to make of Germany a single federal state, but a confederation of states.

"When, in the spring of last year, Germany, eager for a closer political union, expressed her desire for a suitable reform of her political relations, her wishes were readily met by the princes of the country. The German Diet decided, on the 30th March, on the election of representatives of the nation, who were to be commissioned to mediate between the government and the people, and to frame the German constitution.

"The elections took place, nor did any one interfere with them, or endeavour to influence their results. The German parliament met at Frankfort, and commenced its grand undertaking. Austria has never attempted to influence the consultations and resolutions of that Assembly. The attitude which the imperial government assumed on the day on which our plenipotentiary at the diet signed the said resolution remained unchanged. Faithful to the opinion which at that time pervaded the whole of Germany, that the desire of the Germans for a closer union ought not to be interfered with, the imperial government took its stand upon the ground—upon the principle, of a mediation between the princes and the people, such as it was enunciated on the 30th of March. It thought itself bound to await the results of the Frankfort consultations, with a view of acting in concert with the other German governments, for the satisfactory promotion of the grand work of German regeneration.

"His majesty's government continued thus faithfully to discharge its federal duties, nor did it hesitate to recognise the central power which the parliament established in the place of the late diet. Thus did his majesty's

It had become apparent that Austria would not be the new head of the German empire, and Prussia the next of

government prove its readiness to comply with the wishes of the legal representatives of the German nation. Considering all the difficulties in our domestic affairs, the new federal authority will not, we presume, go the length of denying the fact of his majesty's government having endeavoured, even amidst the utmost pressure of events, to satisfy all claims which were advanced, with the sole exception of those which properly fell within the province of legislature.

"The imperial cabinet followed the consultations of the National Assembly with the utmost attention, and now that the voice of Germany has summoned it to say what its intentions are, it scorns to hide itself under the cloak of an ambiguous policy.

"The imperial government concurs with the German tribes here and beyond the Austrian frontiers in their desire for a regeneration of Germany, the first condition of which, it apprehends, must be found in a closer union of the individual states. To cause this closer union to take place—to promote and facilitate this amalgamation—such, it thinks, ought to be the common task of the German princes and peoples. Far from excluding itself, the imperial government is prepared for an earnest and candid co-operation, supposing always that the end to be attained is to be a union, but not a total refoundation (*umschmelzung*) of existing institutions—that it is the preservation (*wahrung*) of the various organic members of Germany, and not their abolition and annihilation.

"The formation of a unitarian state appears as little practicable for Austria as desirable for Germany. It is not expedient for us, for the position of Austria in the confederation ought not to cause us to forget our rights and duties to the non-German provinces of the monarchy. The imperial government cannot break the bonds which for centuries have joined the German and non-German countries of Austria, nor can it give its adhesion to a one-sided abolition of the German confederation, for that confederation is an essential element of the European treaties. Indeed, such a unitarian (*einheitlicher*) state does not appear to us desirable for Germany, for not only would it tend in many ways to oppose the various wants of the country, to stand in the way of its moral and material interests, to annihilate all traditions of the past and all hopes for the future, but it would also be a stumbling-stone in the way of the longed-for and jealously watched political and individual liberty of the Germans.

"Nor need the assertion be opposed to us, that such a unitarian state is not intended, but that it is proposed to create a confederative state. We cannot admit the truth of the assertion, nor can we agree with the nomenclature.

"The majority of the parliament has decided for the programme of Baron Gagern. This programme, supposing its realization were possible, would create the so-called closer federal state—that is to say, the unitarian state above referred to, no matter whether its point of gravitation remained at Frankfort, or whether it were transferred to another part of Germany.

the German powers was then looked to. The consequence was, that as Austria could not be expected to submit to

"From whatever point of view we may consider such an undertaking, on all sides we meet with great and unconquerable difficulties. They are difficulties for Germany, for we opine the individual members would be absorbed, and their life transferred to an artificial centre; they are no less difficulties for Austria, because we should either be excluded from that new-fangled Germany, or the union between our German and non-German provinces would be dissolved; that is to say, the paragraphs two and three of the constitution of the empire would then stand up as facts. It will be remembered that Austria, even in her German provinces, heard those paragraphs with a shout of indignation, and that many of the Austrian deputies, and especially the present president of the cabinet, laid great stress on the arguments which were advanced against those paragraphs. There is, therefore, but one alternative. The German countries of Austria must either suffer exclusion; that is to say, Germany must suffer mutilation, or else the bonds which closely unite the integral parts of Austria must be dissolved, and the slender thread of a personal union adopted in their stead.

"Such are the necessary results of the creation of a so-called federal state—of a state which is everything but a federal state.

"Our duty of self-preservation as Germans, no less than as Austrians, compels us to decline accepting conditions like these. We repeat it, such a step would not tend to promote the development of Austria and Germany; it would weaken them and expose them; it would strike a deep, and perhaps an incurable, wound on their internal political life. We will but quote the words we used on another occasion, and say, 'that the greatness of Germany cannot flourish on the dismemberment of the Austrian monarchy; that Germany cannot hope to gain strength from our weakness. The existence of Austria in its political unity is needful for Germany—nay more, it is needful for Europe.'

"We are convinced that between the manifold and seemingly diverging interests of the German and non-German parts of the monarchy on the one hand, and between their joint interests and those of the other German countries on the other, there is no real internal contradiction; but we are not blind to the difficulties of a union, though we have no doubt of a happy accomplishment of the great task if the work be but undertaken with candour and without other private views which are hostile to its completion.

"The imperial government dreams of a Germany firm and mighty abroad, strong, free, organically-membered at home.

"We start with the view that the more distinct the line is which is drawn between the joint interests of the whole of Germany and between the interests of the individual parts, the surer will separate interests be prevented from taking the lead, and the wider shall we be allowed to extend the dominion of the empire. The plan of the Frankfort parliament, instead of promoting the German unity, would, as a first result, lead to the necessity of excluding Austria, the first among the German powers; it would place the future relations of Germany to us on a level with those to the Netherlands and Denmark.

the rule of any other German prince, it became the object of the Von Gagern ministry to recognise her exclusion from the empire, and to treat with her in diplomacy as with a foreign friendly state,—a course for which the moderate men in the Assembly voted, but to which the ultra-democrats objected. No difficulty stood in the way of their darling theories. Whether the thing was possible or not, was a question treated with philosophic indifference.

When this subject had been discussed in several days' debate, after the favourite scheme of the ultra-republicans, (of having for Germany an elective president, to which office all Germans twenty-five years old with the exception of reigning sovereigns should be eligible), had been negatived, they proceeded to vote a constitution, the

But the basis which the Austrian government proposes has room for all German states, and for all their non-German provinces. Nor is the imperial government afraid of mutual encroachments or of a combat of race against race being the result of an approximation of Germany and the non-German provinces of Austria. On the contrary, we think such an approximation will prove a source of incalculable benefit for either party. There are certainly obstacles in the way of the execution of this plan, but, though great, they are not insurmountable.

"A progress by degrees, commencing with a candid desire to come nearer, and gradually merging into a real and intimate union, does not come within the realms of the land of dreams.

"Convinced that an understanding between Austria and Prussia is necessary for the creation of a really united Germany, we made a point of communicating our views to the cabinet of Berlin. We did so with unusual candour, and without the least intention of claiming for Austria a larger share of power in Germany than it has hitherto possessed in its quality as first German power, and as one of the great powers of Europe. We proposed at the same time to begin the work of the mediation at Frankfort in common with the princes and especially with the kings of Germany.

"No preliminary understanding could be come to with the Prussian government. We cannot, therefore, act in common with Prussia, and are forced to advance alone on the path of a mediation with Frankfort.

"His majesty the emperor and his government contribute their sincerest wishes to the strength and unity of Germany. They are ready to co-operate, as far as the very peculiar condition of the monarchy will allow it. They desire a favourable reception of the present communication within the doors of St Paul's Church and without, and that the candour and readiness of Austria may at all events meet with full acknowledgments."

Austrian deputies joining the democrats in hampering the office of emperor as much as possible with restrictions. By the end of March they came to a conclusion, and agreed to offer the imperial dignity to the King of Prussia, but only by a narrow majority. Finding, however, that the acceptance of the honour would probably involve him in an Austrian war; finding also that the restrictions were such that the office was scarce worth having, he made a pretext for refusing it, on the ground that the princes of Germany ought to be consulted before offering it to him, and before he could accept it. In the meantime, wearied of nothing being done, and disgusted with the intrigues of states, and complaining of his health, the Archduke John tried to resign the office of regent; but he continued to hold it till the whole affair ended in nothing some months later.

The first question touched by the Frankfort constitution was naturally the limits to be given to the new German empire—a question which they settled neither satisfactorily nor consistently; for, declaring that it should consist of all the states which had formed a part of the German empire, they added that the relations of Schlesvig and the frontiers of Posen should form the subject of a future definitive arrangement. Thus the first paragraph of the constitution contemplated the ultimate incorporation of two non-German territories, both in favour of Prussia; while by a singular contradiction they excluded Austria (the state which had long more than any other striven for and maintained the principles of German unity); and the next declared that no part of the empire could be united in a single state with a non-German state; and that if a non-German state happened to have the same sovereign with a German one, the relations between them would only be regulated by the principles of a pure personal union. It further provided, that in all cases the

sovereign of a German state should either reside in his German capital, or establish there a regency; that no foreign sovereign could become a German one; that if a German one accepted a foreign kingdom, he must relinquish his German crown, and that all German states were subject to the central authority. This was to consist of a hereditary emperor and two chambers. The upper house was to be named half by the emperor, and half by the lower house. The lower house was to be elective by universal suffrage, the right of veto by the emperor was suspensive only; for if the same measure was carried in three successive sessions by the two houses, it was to become law whether he consented or no. The object of this arrangement was to make the emperor merely the tool of a parliamentary majority elected by universal suffrage.

The King of Prussia, however, in consequence of the intention to resign his office expressed by the Archduke John, offered to accept the temporary headship of Germany as regent, if such were the wish of the German princes, with the consent of the Frankfort Assembly. He offered to place himself at the head of such states as voluntarily chose to form themselves into a confederation, and invited all the German governments to appoint plenipotentiaries to meet at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, for the purpose of making explicit declarations as to the admission of confederate states, and the conditions on which such admissions should take place: secondly, as to the position which the governments that joined the confederate states should occupy with respect to the national German Assembly and its decisions already agreed to; with the understanding that an agreement with relation to a constitution should without delay be entered upon: thirdly, as to the relations to be held with those states refusing to join the confederation, in order to adjust the old

confederation to the new state of things. These suggestions were communicated to the various German powers. To this communication Austria replied (after stating a general willingness to assist to unite Germany in a legal manner, and recognising the existence *de facto* of the federation of 1815), that it could not agree to the suggestion—that the Frankfort Assembly had exceeded its powers—that it was elected only for the purpose of agreeing on a constitution—and that having been accomplished, it had no power either to carry it out or to elect a hereditary emperor, which it had attempted to do—that it had no right to declare itself in permanence—that Anstria therefore could in no way acknowledge the validity of its acts—that it must be looked on as defunct, and therefore not to be admitted to have any authority in the formation of a new central power, or in the formation of a constitution for it. Since the Assembly had published a constitution, it had done all it legally could, and had by that act ended its own existence.

Austria had earnestly requested the Archduke John to retain the office of regent till a provision could be legally made for the management of German affairs; but should he not accede to the request, she protested against the exercise of this power by one of the German governments alone, and insisted on its being organized in a way which should enable all the governments to be represented therein. Austria refused to treat at Frankfort on the plan suggested by Prussia, because she would not subject herself to the authority of any German prince, and would therefore not send a plenipotentiary; and concluded by protesting generally against any decision that any such plenipotentiaries of any other powers might anywhere come to on any subject whatever; and the Austrian deputies at Frankfort were summoned to leave that Assembly to its own course, on the ground that it was no longer legal,

thus setting it completely at defiance. The Prussian second chamber at the same time refused to adopt the Frankfort Constitution. Early in May, both Prussia and Hanover dissolved their diets. The King of Prussia at the same time sent a message to the Frankfort Assembly refusing finally the imperial crown subject to the conditions they had attached to it. That Assembly resolved to censure Prussia and Hanover for dissolving their diets without their sovereign permission. Their next proceeding was to declare that if Prussia was not represented in the German parliament they had summoned to meet on the 15th of July, the next powerful state there present should have its prince elected emperor. This was published in the Berlin Gazette, together with an answer saying, that the Assembly claimed an usurped authority, and that it endeavoured to execute its object by revolution and violence. In the Rhenish provinces of Prussia alone was any feeling manifested in favour of the Frankfort professors.

In Dresden, early in May, the dissolution of the Chambers had resulted in an outbreak, and the flight of the king and his ministers, who were only reinstated by Prussian military assistance, after a Provisional Government had been established. The King of Wurtemberg had been forced to escape from his capital at the latter end of April. The Prussian people themselves were more ambitious than their sovereign. The Upper Chamber had voted a unanimous address to the king, requesting him to accept the proffered empire. A similar address was carried in the Lower Chamber by a small majority, and his rejection of the offer was ill received by those Assemblies. He could reckon on the help and good wishes of most of the petty princes of Germany, who relied on Prussian support; but he would have had to meet fearful odds.

The imperial crown is the object to which all the intrigues,

diplomacy, and policy of Prussia, for a century and a half, have been directed. To make Prussia the head and leader of Germany, has not alone been the ambition of her princes, but of her people; their aim was to win her the first place, and to throw Austria back on the Sclavonic provinces, and the Hungarian and Italian kingdoms, and thus to exclude her from Germany. The establishment of the Zollverein was a development of this spirit. At last the glittering bauble, the object of so many anxious hopes, was placed within their reach, and yet their hands were paralyzed. They were unable to grasp it. The flood of power flowed round Prussia, but Tantalus-wise, she was forbidden to drink. The king's was an embarrassing position. Independently of his secret desire for the prize, and his own words assuming the lead of united Germany, there was, on the one hand, the danger of offending that party which had, the previous year, convulsed Germany to its foundation, and thrust princes from their thrones. The refusal of the dignity would be to them a scandal, and it might lead to a like period of anarchy. Such were the dangers on the one side. On the other, the acceptance would probably lead to a breach with Austria and Bavaria—if not Hanover also. Austria would be backed by Russia, with whom she was at that time in the strictest alliance, and on whom she depended even for existence. Neither France nor England could be depended on to help Prussia in such a quarrel. Europe would be against her. No one on her side. A man of firm character and determined courage—fiery ambition, and perfect indifference to any one but himself and his own aggrandizement—might have grasped the opportunity never likely to recur. But these were not the characteristics of Frederick William the Fourth of Prussia.

Towards the end of May 1849, the Assembly, not

considering themselves safe at Frankfort, called on the Regent's government to remove the seat of government to Stutgardt, and about 100 members of the democratic party withdrew to that town, where they met on the 6th of June, and voted the deposition of their Regent. But no one was inclined to obey their orders, and they had no means of compelling obedience. They called his retaining office, after they had deposed him, usurpation. They talked of a general arming of the people; but the Wurtemberg government thought them dangerous and prohibited their meeting. Nevertheless some disturbances were going on: the small faction of democrats having become desperate, had taken to arms, and in Bavaria and Baden gave some trouble before they were finally pacified by General Peucker and the Prince of Prussia. Commanded by Microlawski, they were, after a severe conflict before Mannheim, eventually defeated and driven into the defiles of the Black Forest.

On the 2d of July, the Archduke Regent left Frankfort for the baths, nominally for his health. Indeed he must have been sick of his office. Shortly after, about 150 of the more reasonable members of the late German Parliament of Frankfort met unofficially at Gotha, and there sat for three days to consider what could be best done practically to advance the cause of a real German unity. They agreed that the best thing, under the circumstances, was to give all the help they could to the scheme which was in preparation at Berlin. This was to make a more strict confederation of such states as were willing to join Prussia, but not to dissolve her or their union with the Confederation of the Rhine: in fact, to make a sort of extended Zollverein or custom-house league, so as to encourage the internal trade of the country, and, by frequent intercourse, produce common interests and real unity—

a scheme which appears neither visionary nor impracticable. Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover, had already agreed on the plan. The three powers appointed a federal court of arbitration to sit at Erfurt, consisting of seven members.

Towards the end of July the state of siege was terminated at Berlin, and the elections went on. They nearly all went in favour of the moderate constitutional party; for the country had become sick of boastful pretences. The Prussian Parliament met on the 7th of August. It was opened by a speech from the king. He alluded to the fact of Prussian arms having been employed in restoring tranquillity in the centre of Germany, and stated that he was ardently anxious to promote the real unity of Germany—but that the turn things had taken at Frankfort had prevented that wish from being accomplished. He acknowledged the labours of the Assembly, and hoped yet to be able to constitute such a central power as should give the desired unity to those who would join it; at the same time it should not interfere with the independence of the various members of the federation. But he explained very little of his scheme. The parliament, however, agreed to a resolution to bind on Prussia the acts of a parliament convened from such states as should come into it; and the Prussian Government issued a circular fixing the 15th of September for the last day for them to signify their assent. Hamburg and Bremen had already done so.

The movement of 1848 was ended, but Germany was not thereby regenerate. The crowned heads cannot justly be accused of directly preventing the accomplishment of what it professed to undertake. It failed, because the German leaders themselves were incapable of doing, however capable they were of dreaming. But human affairs are not carried on in dreams. The people of Germany found out

that they had been led over barricades and other obstacles to no purpose.*

On the 20th of December, the Archduke John resigned his office of Regent at Frankfort, and the plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia were installed in his place. Thus ended the year 1849—thus ended the grand scheme for the regeneration of Germany. The flame slowly flickered in the socket, and burned so low that at last no one quite knew when it went out.

> "Torrens dicendi copia multis,
> Et sua mortifera est facundia."

In the beginning of the year 1850, the politics of Germany stood somewhat thus: The revolutions of the last two years had overturned much, but had settled nothing. The territorial divisions of the several states were unaltered. The hurricane had passed over: the states were now enjoying tolerably settled weather; but the old institutions had been overthrown in the separate states, and no new ones of any practical utility had been established

* Prince Leiningen, the president of the Regent's first cabinet, towards the end of the year, published a memorial, confessing the total failure of the scheme for a German unity; that, in the place of transcendent liberty, they had got a military dictatorship of two, namely, Prussia and Austria; and these two opposed in many points to each other. Prussia inclined to grant concessions to the democracy—to receive their help in forming the federation of states she had in view. That this democratic party had shown itself utterly unfit to have concessions made to it, or in any way to be trusted—and that to this scheme Austria was opposed. He was obliged mournfully to confess that the German people had shown themselves unworthy of the freedom they sought for, nor had they the real desire for unity, and that the champions of unity had been both kings and republicans—left in the lurch by the nation: that all their struggles and strivings, writings, debates, and elaboration of doctrines, had led to nothing, and could not, without an executive power, which, it was melancholy to relate, was only to be found in the large armies of Germany. His practical conclusion was, that Prussia and Austria must be left to go to work their own way in preparing a constitution for Germany, which might be subsequently modified by a general congress. This is unimpeachable evidence as to where the fault lay.

in their place; and the body-politic had to be reconstructed by the rulers of such materials and in such manner as they best could. Austria was busy with constitutions on paper for the purpose of amalgamating more closely the various populations of her various states, and was striving to establish a unity of her own distinct from a German unity. But still she coveted the lead of the German empire, and would have been willing enough to be a united Austria at the head of a united Germany, but under no other circumstances would have any connexion with it. The King of Prussia and his philosophers were disputing about a constitution not quite completed. The smaller states were undergoing a series of ministerial crises and dissolutions of their assemblies, and mending of their constitutions. Nothing of any sort was settled. The disorder of chaos had returned: the storm had ceased; but the impetuous surging of the political ocean, lashed into fury by the late tempest, still wore a threatening aspect: nothing was to be found but *ad interim* arrangements.

The confederation of Germany was in greater confusion than the separate states. The old diet had been extinguished in the heat of revolution. The Regent, the Frankfort Assembly, and the central government had vanished, and were succeeded by an *ad interim* arrangement of Austrian, Prussian, and other plenipotentiaries. Added to this, Austria and Prussia were still carrying forward their old strife for mastery. Austria was dilapidated in her finances. Prussia's finances were in tolerable order, and she was more popular with the minor sovereigns generally. Her place at the head of the Zollverein gave her considerable influence, and in most of the lesser states there was a moderate party inclined to side with her. On the other hand, she was, though nominally at peace, in fact engaged in an unjust aggression on Denmark; a war in which she was at last utterly de-

feated. The character of the king was vacillating, but enthusiastic. So far as one can see into his policy, its object was to put down violent democracy, and to establish an appearance of moderate representative government. As to establishing anything like real freedom, there is nothing of the sort understood or desired on the Continent of Europe, except perhaps in Hungary. The king, in practice and principle, really despotic (perhaps without knowing it), a believer in the divine right of kings, as something different from the divine right of every other person, naturally benevolent, ambitious, and encouraging democracy, for the purpose of placing himself at the head of Germany, had been compelled to put it down to keep himself on the throne of Prussia.

The Erfurt Parliament assembled on the 15th of March, notwithstanding the protest of Austria, the falling off of Hanover and Saxony, and the ignoring of the scheme on the part of Russia.

On the same day, the King of Wurtemberg opened his states and stigmatized a German unity as a dangerous delusion in his speech from the throne, saying that, since 1848, Germany had been a football to the passions and ambitions of factions. That the only practical thing was to remain in individual states, and make the alterations necessary to suit the age and the still existing Germanic Confederation,—a speech which produced an angry repartee from Prussia, and the withdrawal of the Prussian ambassador. The Erfurt Assembly adjourned, and, having effected nothing, died as its predecessor at Frankfort had previously done. Prince Schwartzenburg, the Austrian minister, proposed the reconvocation of the Diet of the Confederation of 1815, which had been superseded in 1848. This step was taken by Austria, as head of that Confederation, and circulars had the month before been sent to the various members. A number of princes at the

same time assembled at Berlin to support the Prussian scheme; while others met at Frankfort to support Austria. Thus was established for the moment a duality in place of unity.

In the end of the month of May, a crazy Prussian, named Selfoge, fired a pistol at the king, wounding him slightly in the arm. The crime was not attributed to political objects by some: others said, that the democratic clubs had urged him to it,—an act of which they have repeatedly shown themselves capable. Some American refugees have certainly advertised a reward of dollars to any one who should rid the earth of certain German and other sovereigns. The license of the Prussian press was attempted to be curbed by restoring the system of caution-money in the middle of June; and by abolishing jury-trials, in certain cases connected with it: edicts which were immediately put in force with great rigour; and a considerable number of newspapers were refused circulation by the post-office.

Matters went forward tolerably quietly, till the intrigues of the two parties showed themselves in a very insignificant little state, the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel. Hesse-Cassel lies between the two ends of the Prussian dominions. In 1848, this small state had remained tranquil in the confusion raging around it; a representative form of government had been established, very tolerably efficient, but not very democratic. Hassenpflug, the Elector's minister, had been appointed by the advice of Austria. He delayed the calling together of the parliament, which had the right of laying on taxes. When it eventually met, he required an instant vote of supplies. The members replied that they had no intention of proceeding to the extremity of refusing supplies, and if he would place before them a regular budget, they would go through it and vote it in a regular way. Thereupon the parliament was dissolved. This

produced a collision. The Elector found he had not popularity to carry him through. His officers said that they had taken the oaths to the constitution as much as to the Elector, and refused obedience. Prussia threatened, if Austria endeavoured to force the Elector on the people, to oppose her; and if Austria attempted to enter the state with troops on one side, that Prussia would do the same on the other. The Elector and his minister finding they had raised a storm they could not control, ran away so quietly that for some time no one knew they were gone. They arrived in Hanover, and petitioned for armed help, which was refused them by King Ernest. The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, at the same epoch, followed a similar course as to the constitution he had given his subjects.

Austria and the Diet assembled at Frankfort took the part of the Elector, who moved his government close on to the Bavarian frontier, where he was protected by Bavarian arms. Prussia took the opposite side; and this small freehold very nearly brought the great German powers into direct collision. General Haynau (a brother of the Austrian officer of the same name) was intrusted by the Elector to carry out his policy. He attempted to disarm the burgher guard; but the officers came and remonstrated with him, whereupon he put his head out of his window and called out "treason;" an act which does not appear to have been followed by any consequence except that he was induced to relent, because no one would obey him, and became in fact a prisoner for the time in his own house till he could get fresh instructions. The troops of Prussia were so arranged that they could be concentrated on any part of the electorate in two days; those of Austria and Bavaria were equally prepared on the other side. Eventually the Czar interfered, suggested to the King of Prussia the propriety of allowing the Austrians and Bava-

rians to enter Hesse to restore order. It does not appear that order was ever disturbed. The king wavered; his cabinet was divided; at last he gave way, and Austria and Bavaria occupied the electorate—a position in the centre of the Prussian dominions. In the midst of this affair, Count Brandenburg, the Prussian minister, suddenly died at Berlin. He was the head of the peace-party. As the Bavarians entered on the south, the Prussians, who had by treaty a right of road through the duchy, entered on the north; the people welcomed the latter as friends, and things threatened immediate hostilities every moment: but it came to nothing. Prussia was not in earnest. An armistice was agreed on. In the meantime, the Austrians, at the King of Wurtemberg's request, entered his dominions to enable him to restore the state of things existing previous to 1848. The Austrian ultimatum was meanwhile delivered to Prussia, which demanded the evacuation of Hesse in eight days, the dissolution of the Erfurt Assembly, and the reconstruction of the Frankfort Diet of the Germanic Confederation. The Prussian parliament met; the king was warmly received, and they appeared to be in a warlike temper; however, Baron Manteufel and Prince Schwartzenburg met at Olmütz, and managed to agree. Prussia was in fact forced to give way. Peace with Denmark had been at last agreed on: thus ended 1850. Things were clearly sinking back to their old position. The elective chambers, such as remained, had no real power; and the kings and princes as a general rule coerced them by military force when they found it convenient. A temporary Frankfort Diet had reassembled, and the old confederation, or some modification of it, appeared to be on the way to be reconstructed. Austria and Prussia still remained the two antagonistic heads of Germany.

The year 1851 began. The restoration of the Elector of Hesse to his estates was followed by very injudicious

severities. Some of the citizens were beaten with rods. Austria, as has already been mentioned, taking Prussia at a disadvantage, marched troops through her territory and occupied Hamburg. After a series of conferences among the German powers at Dresden, where many schemes were propounded and rejected, the re-establishment of the Frankfort Diet, on the basis on which it existed before the outbreaks, was decided on. The object of Austria had been to enter the Confederation with the whole of the non-German provinces—a course which was objected to by Prussia, as tending to give Austria an undue preponderance. Indeed all the great European powers took a similar view. The Prussian chambers continued to meet; but the degree of liberty enjoyed by the Prussian people may be gathered from the repression of the public press.* Austria, too, pursued a retrograde course, made the cabinet responsible only to the emperor, and made the emperor the originator of everything.

Towards the middle of the year the old Frankfort Diet assembled, and things were restored to their normal condition, except that the absolute rule was a little harsher.

Having now considered the general politics of the German race, and the internal changes of Prussia, it remains, before going on to the Viennese revolutions, to glance at the condition of some of the lesser German states. There is, as has been seen, an incurable difference in habits, thought, and language between the Germans of the north and those of the south, in spite of the library of volumes

* A circumstance of a rather absurd nature occurred in 1854. Some poor parents desired a child to be baptized by a name which the minister thought had some political significance, though it does not appear that it had. The parents refused to give it any other name. They were arrested and imprisoned, and the rite of baptism performed with closed doors, and the child named what the minister thought fit, and the parents severely punished. Such was the amount of freedom gained by three years' turmoil.

that have been written on the subject of German unity. So that it is scarcely true (as has been humorously remarked), that nature, having placed two hostile races side by side, has given them the same tongue to facilitate their disputes. This difference is more or less marked as there are other circumstances which aggravate or smooth it down. There may be certain sympathies between the northern and southern Protestants, but between the northern Protestants and the southern Papists there is no sympathy whatever. Nowhere are these differences more marked, or more brought into contact, than in Bavaria—a kingdom by no means homogeneous, but made up of bits of other states. The north is occupied by Ancient Franconia, inhabited by a lively, imaginative people, easily agitated and given to change; while Swabia is divided between the Protestant inhabitants of the towns, who (irritated by having fallen under a more meddlesome government than they were accustomed to), follow the example of Franconia, and the Papists of the country districts, who more nearly follow the example of the easy-going dwellers in Bavaria Proper. Rhenish Bavaria, separated from the rest of the kingdom by the duchy of Baden, had been for a time a French department, and has maintained the institutions then obtained on several occasions with considerable energy; while Munich, though situated in old Bavaria, owing to the influx of unquiet spirits from all quarters, holds more in common with the political views and vices of Franconia than of the country immediately surrounding it. Bavaria has enjoyed a representative government since 1818. Its noblesse has not been destroyed, but, on the contrary, has possessed many impolitic privileges.

The States-general consisted of two chambers: the first partly hereditary and official, partly named for life by the sovereign; and the Lower Chamber, partly composed of the lords of manors not having a seat in the Upper House; while

representatives of the universities, clergy, and of the proprietors and citizens of the towns, formed the remainder: a constitution which, although not of a very democratic character, had occasionally resisted vigorously the royal prerogative.

We have seen how King Louis had been compelled, by the turbulence of his capital, to dismiss Lola Montez, and deprive her of the title and estates he had given her. Encouraged by this success, the populace, during the heat of the revolutionary fever, became clamorous for further innovations. At first he resisted; but finding his troops paralyzed, his people armed and pressing into the very gates of his palace, he was no longer able to withstand their determined requests. When calm was restored, he abdicated, saying, that "when the law was so little respected that the people invaded the house of their king, the best thing to be done under the circumstances was to take one's leave and be gone:" a consummation which the populace had not expected, and which they highly resented. He was succeeded by his son Maximilian. The late king had been a poet. The new one was a philosopher. He succeeded on the 21st of March, and Bavaria immediately plunged into the democratic movement, and the dream of German unity. The capital, with Franconia and Swabia, took a lead, while Bavaria Proper followed with more circumspection. In the provinces the movement was pushed to excess by the eccentric behaviour of Prince Wallenstein, of a race mediatized in 1815; and formerly a conservative minister, who now played the part of agitator. Adopting the manners and habits of the multitude both in language and costume, he performed with success the part of popular demagogue, as he had previously done that of conservative statesman: a change which might be looked on as singular, had we not seen such instances of not unfrequent occurrence. As his conversion is said to have been

followed by his backsliding, as soon as it became clear that democracy could not win, the change has been attributed to motives of personal ambition, and displeasure with those to whom he attributed his previous defeats, and who had not preserved the best faith with persons in his position. Despite his exertions, however, the cause of democracy made less progress in Bavaria than in many other German states. Thus, although it was infected with the visions of German unity, yet it by no means intended to merge its individual Bavarian nationality in the gulf. Hence the Bavarian deputies almost unanimously voted against the offer of the imperial dignity to Prussia, and later, when Prussia, as has been seen, endeavoured to form a federation of states, at the head of which she herself was to stand, Bavaria took a line decidedly hostile to the scheme. Indeed from the beginning, the assumption of a German leadership, on the part of Prussia, was met with determined hostility: a feeling which led, it will be remembered, to Bavarian co-operation with Austria in reinstating the Elector of Hesse.

The reforms effected were of a less revolutionary character than elsewhere. The people obtained the acknowledgment of the right of meeting, the liberty of the press, trial by jury, and an electoral reform. The nomination of members of the legislature by the crown was abolished, and they were henceforward to be elected by a uniform constituency. The sessions were to be annual, but the elections were not made by direct suffrage; the direct electors had first to be elected. As elsewhere, the right of meeting, and the liberty of the press, ran wild, and though subsequently restrained, were not here altogether abolished. The Chamber of Peers remained untouched. Altogether it was one of the states where revolution was least violent, where the reaction was not strong, and which suffered least in the crisis, partly owing to the character of the people, and partly, perhaps,

to its having enjoyed a sort of representative constitution and religious toleration for a considerable period. A part of the kingdom was, however, involved in the Baden insurrection in 1849, which was quelled by Prussian troops before Mannheim.

The changes which took place in these years found their principal opponents among the Latin clergy, who objected much to a new oath of allegiance imposed upon them, declaring that the Pope was their spiritual head. They objected to the introduction of a civil ceremony making a valid marriage, which had been hitherto unknown except in the Rhenish province. In October 1850 they made a general protest against all innovations, recognising no other authority in ecclesiastical matters but the Pope. They made a practice of refusing to celebrate mixed marriages unless undertakings were entered into that the children should be brought up in their faith, an arrogant assumption, not confined to Bavaria. These matters involved the Latin Church and the government in a quarrel, in which the latter threatened to deprive the recusants of their livings and emoluments. Eventually a compromise was effected by the clergy taking off the oath, with a reserve that it contained nothing contrary to their allegiance to Rome. The dispute, though not very active, is said to be not yet concluded. Indeed it is improbable it should, considering the encroaching spirit of the Latin Church.

Hanover had enjoyed a parliamentary constitution, granted by the Prince Regent shortly after the expulsion of the French. It dated from the year 1819, and was modified or completed in 1833. In 1837, on the death of William IV., the crown passed to his brother the Duke of Cumberland, whose politics were High Tory, and whose temper was despotic. He overthrew at once the modifications of 1833; and the Hanoverians, resenting

this infraction of their rights, in some instances refused to elect deputies, which so far incensed him as to put the constitution of 1819 in considerable danger—in fact, the Chambers ceased to have any considerable authority. 1848 came, and the people, taking advantage of the circumstances, contented themselves with asking for that which they had previously held, and of which they had been illegally deprived, with few modifications. The upper chamber was aristocratic, and the lower one not so democratic as some. And though the Estates recognised the Frankfort constitution, and the claims of a very democratic character involved in their mystic *grund rechte*, the king would not. So the matter ended; owing to which the country suffered little in comparison with some others. Subsequently the attention of the people was principally occupied with the events passing around them. Prussia, by her military power (in the absence of Austria, who was occupied sufficiently with her own provinces), was the principal guarantee of order in the north of Germany. It was under this inducement that the king signed, as has been seen, the commercial treaty, after the Frankfort Assembly had ended; but he made a reserve that it should be open to all Germany, including Austria, to join it, before which there should be no meeting of a German parliament to regulate its affairs. This was not what Prussia wanted; hence, as has been seen, when the Erfurt Parliament was convoked, Hanover protested, and refused to have any further connexion with the league—a course which brought about a cessation of diplomatic intercourse, and nearly led to hostilities. On the whole, probably the greatest boon obtained in Hanover was the practical one of trial by jury. In 1851, questions arose as to some provincial concessions to the democratic element, which the king had promised. He was therefore determined to carry them out; but on the 18th of Novem-

ber he died; and his son, George V., was not so bound, and, in compliance with Frankfort, has not yet done so.

Saxony was one of the states that suffered most inconvenience, and reaped least advantage, from the revolutionary movement; which interrupted its industry, interfered with its commerce, overturned its constitution, and was finally extinguished, leaving it in very much the same condition, if not worse, than it found it. This kingdom had had a representative constitution established since 1831; the aristocratic influence was less than in Bavaria, Hanover, or Wurtemberg, and democratic tendencies were more prevalent; nevertheless, it was not one of the uniform paper constitutions, but one in which various classes were each represented. In the first instance, the king had hoped to avoid further yielding to the storm by changing his ministers; but this was not sufficient. He was again compelled to change his ministry for one of a still more democratic character. He had convoked the chambers in the difficulty, but they, though not decidedly democratic, were acted on by the mob of the capital, before whom the king was powerless. Liberty of the press, the right of meeting, and universal suffrage, were all granted. But most of the difficulties came from abroad. Robert Blum, the deputy of Leipsig in the Frankfort Parliament, had been compromised in the Vienna revolution, and shot by order of Windischgrätz. The populace complained that the Saxon minister had not done what was necessary to save him, though it appears he applied for the purpose in person as soon as he heard of his arrest; but he had been shot in the meantime.

The next subject of difficulty was the fundamental law of the Frankfort Parliament, which went to establish very democratic pretensions. But the government, observing that it could add very little to the mischief

already done, gave in to it. Not satisfied, however, with this acknowledgment, the democrats required the recognition of the whole Frankfort constitution as well. This they were not prepared to grant, and on this point an explosion took place. Prussia having sent a circular to say that she would give help to governments in difficulty, from refusing this constitution, sent assistance, and the insurrection which broke out in May 1849 was by that help quelled; in return for which Saxony joined the Customs League, together with Hanover, which Prussia was labouring to establish, but on condition that Bavaria should join it too. But as things took an opposite turn, Saxony, as has been seen, fell off as well as Hanover, and took no part in the Erfurt Parliament, remaining antagonistic to Prussia till her projects foundered, and she capitulated at Olmütz.

In the meantime the King of Saxony re-established the constitution of 1831, and retracted all the liberties granted in 1848, of which it seemed that the kingdom was sufficiently tired, for the chamber, which was elected in 1850, and met in July, was of a calm disposition, as was the country, and the fundamental law, which the government had so reluctantly admitted, was abolished; so that in that year nearly all traces of 1848 were obliterated, and matters reverted to their ordinary course.

Externally, Saxony as well as Bavaria co-operated with Austria in re-establishing the Frankfort diet, but had previously, as has been seen, taken a line alike independent of either Austria or Prussia.

The kingdom of Wurtemberg had possessed parliamentary institutions since 1819. The upper chamber consisted of the princes and counts of the empire, who had been mediatized in and before 1815, and who still preserved both here and elsewhere many of their ancient

privileges, such as right of equal birth with the sovereign houses, certain provincial jurisdiction, and an exemption from ordinary tribunals, some of which were very impolitic, and should never have been granted; but being guaranteed by the state, either should have been maintained, or should have, as occasion served, been bought up if found inconvenient. Besides these, there were hereditary members named from the *noblesse* by the king, and life members named by the king from any class. Of the lower chamber, some were elected by the *noblesse* and the equestrian order; some representatives of the Lutheran and Latin communions; the chancellor of the university; some representatives of towns and some of the country districts. During the recess, there was a permanent committee of twelve, named by each of the two chambers, to do what was necessary in their absence.

The constitution stood thus in the beginning of 1848. That convulsion compelled the king, as well as the other German sovereigns, to grant numerous demands of the populace. National guards, liberty of the press, right of meeting, universal suffrage, and a constituent assembly were obtained. However, the elections were postponed till July in the following year. In the mean time, the king had been obliged to flee his capital because of opposing the Frankfort Constitution, which however he eventually was obliged to admit. As Europe was calming down, the king hoped that there would be a reasonable temper in the Assembly; but the radical party and the aristocratic party could not agree with each other or with the king. The radicals wanted to abolish the aristocracy, and to make the king a puppet; the king wanted to introduce reforms restraining some of the privileges of the aristocracy; and the aristocracy objected to both schemes. The Constituent Assembly met on 1st December 1849; and having adopted the Frankfort Constitution and fun-

damental right, which the king would not agree to, they were dissolved before the end of the month and a new one convoked. Before it assembled, the king had, together with Saxony and Bavaria, signed the treaty of Munich, and, with them, took a line so opposed to Prussia, that on his stating his views, in very explicit terms, to the second Constituent Assembly at its opening, Prussia at once recalled its minister from Stutgardt. He on that occasion took the opportunity of hinting to the Assembly that a little moderation would lead to more practical results; but they were not to be persuaded. The disputes again began between the radicals and the aristocracy. The king, who found their privileges a check on his government, naturally would have sided with the popular voice had it not at the same time threatened his own power; so that, after various protests, votes, and speeches, the disagreement went so far that the Chambers impeached the minister Baron Wächter Spittler; whereupon the king dissolved them, and restored, of his own authority, the constitution of 1819, such as it previously existed. This occurred in November 1850.

The Grand Duchy of Baden has since 1819 enjoyed one of the most liberal parliamentary constitutions in Germany. It was here the revolutionary fever burst with the greatest fury, and was extinguished with the greatest difficulty. The lower chamber was of a uniform character, not representing castes as many of the others in Germany; though the upper chamber differed little from the constitution of those of the other states. Whether it was from this cause, or from its immediate neighbourhood to France, it is hard to say, but in no part of Germany had republicanism so firm a hold. Thrice it broke forth, thrice to be quenched in blood. The Grand Duke was early compelled to give way to the tumultuous wishes of his

mob, but it was not enough; they hoped for a republic. We have seen how the duchy was invaded by a body of Parisian propagandists, as M. Chenu details in his Memoirs,—an event which might have led to a break with France and a general war. A second insurrection occurred in September, under the leaders who had escaped in the first. Struvè, with eighty of his followers, was taken and shot. Hecker, another leader, escaped to raise another insurrection during 1849. When in that year the "rump" of the Frankfort Parliament removed, as has been seen, to Stutgardt, the Baden troops, in the fortress of Radstadt, rose on their officers, slew them, and declared for the parliament, and almost simultaneously a revolution broke out at Carlsruhe. The Grand Duke fled. Under the lead of Hecker, and commanded by Mieralawski, the insurgents assaulted and bombarded Mannheim, and were for a considerable time in possession of the greater part of the duchy and a part of Bavaria. They were, however, in the course of a few weeks, attacked before Mannheim by the Prussians under General Peucker and the Prince of Prussia, and after a battle of seven hours, defeated and driven into the defiles of the Black Forest, and the insurrection was quelled. The Prussian troops then occupied the duchy; for Baden had concluded with Prussia a military convention, by virtue of which the two armies were incorporated; and the Baden troops, who could not be trusted, were sent to distant quarters in Prussia. Hence Prussia took an influential position with respect to the duchy, which followed the Prussian policy till the Hesse insurrection, when the Prussian troops were required elsewhere, and the Baden troops returned home. This intervention, had it occurred earlier, might have easily led to a war with France. The main results of these events were disordered finances, for the republican leaders had appropriated the public money without scruple.

Separately to go through all the small states and the revolutions which were perpetrated in Germany, or to describe which set of petty principalities took part with Prussia, or which with Austria, or which took the side of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, would be neither interesting nor instructive. Pushed into revolution or reform, they more or less became unmanageable, and were restored very much to their previous condition either by or previous to the Frankfort Diet in 1851. The prominent feature worthy of remark is, that in the smaller German states the reaction towards aristocracy has been more complete than in the larger ones. Neither Wurtemberg, Hanover, Saxony, nor Bavaria, have completely returned to their old regime in this respect, and Prussia still less; and of all the states, aristocratic influence has been most completely destroyed in the Austrian dominions. The reason is, that aristocracy is a check, and in Germany the only check, on absolutism. The larger the state, the more despotic the will of the prince, the more anxious he becomes to remove this check on his power. It may be further remarked, that in the smaller states there is more real liberty because they are poorer, and cannot pay so many functionaries, than in the greater ones. One of the chief reasons why the German revolutions happened and failed is, that the German aristocracy is not a real one; it is neither of the people nor for the crown; it is a mere set of privileged, titled drones, who are alone anxious for their own preservation; it is a close corporation, perpetually deteriorating from the want of new blood, or even intermarriage with any other class. It is not privilege that makes an aristocracy, but influence; if it has influence with the people, it must be a check on the crown. Even in its debased condition, it is some check; hence the desire of the absolute to destroy it. It is partly the fault of the government that

it is what it is, but it is chiefly its own; at present it is only selfishly anxious to maintain its privileges, and not equal rights for all; whereas an aristocracy, to lead the people, must be constantly recruited by the best blood from among them. It must hold no exclusive prerogatives, it must be subject to the ordinary tribunals. Hence it will be its aim that the rights it claims should be the rights of the whole people. It ought to demand of the law no more than justice; it ought to see that the people have no less; if the ordinary laws administer justice, why not submit to them? Knowing from their fathers the value of freedom themselves, when the people share it, the aristocracy are its best defenders, sacrificing it neither to despot nor to demagogue. As to immunity from taxes, since they have practically a considerable share in imposing them, it is just as dishonest on their part to refuse to pay them as it is in the British ten-pounder, the great untaxed, to refuse to pay the imposts he lays on other people. The cases are precisely parallel; and in spite of aristocratic pretension, the one is no honester than the other. The ten-pounder may boast that he is as good a gentleman as the German noble, and the German noble may be proud to find himself on a par with the British shopkeeper.

THE

EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1848.

AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS.

HUNGARY, TRANSYLVANIA, AND CROATIA.

A. E. I. O. U.

"AUSTRIÆ EST IMPERARE ORBEM UNIVERSUM."

"It was not merely the want of cordial co-operation among the princes of the empire that disabled the emperor from acting with vigour in the cause of his family then, nor has rendered the house of Austria a dead weight upon all her allies ever since. Bigotry and its inseparable companion cruelty, as well as the tyranny and avarice of the court of Vienna, created in those days, and has maintained in ours, almost a perpetual diversion of the imperial arms from all effectual opposition to *France*. I mean to speak of the troubles of Hungary. Whatever they became in their progress, they were caused originally by the usurpations and persecutions of the emperor; and when the Hungarians were called rebels first, they were called so for no other reason than this, that they would not be slaves."—BOLINGBROKE, vii. p. 397.

CHAPTER I.

AUSTRIA TO THE BOMBARDMENT OF VIENNA.

THE countries under the Austrian rule are inhabited by several distinct races of men—German, Hungarian, Sclave, Rouman, and Italian. Various passions actuated each. Those which moved the Germans they shared with all Germany. The Hungarian hopes were opposed to theirs.

The movement in her Italian provinces, nearly connected with the disturbances in the rest of that peninsula, has been previously noticed. The Sclave movement was also distinct and separate; and yet all these are more or less connected, as each separately affected the whole Austrian Empire.

In order to render these events intelligible, it is necessary to relate shortly the main circumstances connected together, as they occurred in point of time (though at the cost here and there of repetition), with respect to the Austrian Empire; and subsequently and separately to consider such of them as require separate treatment, and have not already been spoken of.

On the 13th of March A.D. 1848, the Diet for Lower Austria was opened at Vienna. The French revolution of February, which had set the rest of Germany in a blaze, had indirectly or directly communicated its influence to the mob of Vienna. They made a rush to the chamber where the Diet was assembled, and interrupted the business, which had not proceeded above half an hour. The people made an outcry for reform. They had some reason to wish for it, police and priest ridden as they were. Their grievances were real, but the subjects of their complaint were visionary. They did not want real freedom, but a constitution on paper. For some days there had been considerable commotion among the people. The rector of the university had applied to government to arm the students, by way of preserving order. These were the particular persons most notoriously inclined to riot. The request, insanely made, was some days afterwards weakly conceded, and thence sprang the academic legion, ever first in all species of treason. Undergraduates are not fit repositories for political power.

The marshal of the Diet, Count Montecuculi, went with the reform petition at once to the palace, followed

by a crowd. The petition was presented to the emperor. It is not the habit of the Austrian government to say "No" to anything.* The negative is conveyed by the length of time they take in answering; it is a sort of "*Le roy s'avisera.*" On this occasion the populace waited for an answer. The Archduke Ludwig condescended to inform the marshal that it was not his opinion that the emperor would say "Yes." However, as a cabinet council was summoned, which continued to sit from twelve to four o'clock without coming to a decision, the populace thought they had waited long enough.

"Jam fasces et saxa volant furor arma ministrat."

Undergraduates harangued the mob. One of them read the speech of Kossuth to the Hungarian Parliament. It was received with shouts of applause. On a sudden the soldiers appeared, and to the consternation of the people fired a volley. A number were killed and wounded. Four pieces of cannon were planted on the Place of St Stephen. The gunners stood by with lighted matches. The alarm drum was beat. The burgher guard turned out, and were received with shouts of applause by the crowd. A war in the streets was on the point of beginning. But the battle was prevented. Prince Metternich resigned. A new ministry was formed, with Count Kolowrath at its head. Several concessions were made to the people. An amnesty was granted for political prisoners. Polish and Italian state prisoners were set free, to the number of 150. The secret police was abolished. The police were instructed that it would be no longer legal for them to act as, or to employ, spies on domestic establishments, for secret conspiracies would be revealed, if any existed, by the newly granted freedom of the press. A

* An ingenious author has observed, that were they asked for the moon, it is probable they would answer that the matter should receive their gravest consideration.

sort of right of personal freedom was established, that is, as far as being imprisoned without trial went; perhaps not a very great step after all, but one which no continental state has yet permanently taken, and but few even temporarily. The constitution proclaimed on the 25th of April was not *very* democratic. The heads of the princely houses had seats in the upper chamber; one-fifth of it was to be named by the emperor, and the rest elected by the landed gentry. The lower was to be elected by universal suffrage, and no qualification was requisite for a member. The upper house was to consist of 200, the lower of 400 members. But the houses never met, and the constitution never was acted on. Another revolution intervened.

It was two days after this that a deputation arrived from Hungary, headed by the Palatine, the Archduke Stephen. It demanded the recognition of the ancient constitution of that kingdom, as a state separate from the Austrian Empire, but of which the emperor was the elected king. The demands, though far from pleasing, he was not in a condition to reject. A Hungarian ministry was formed, who went to work to introduce requisite reforms.

Two days before the outbreak in Vienna, a Sclavonian meeting, which had been convoked anonymously, was held at Prague, the capital of Bohemia They required a free press and constitutional government; a perfect equality in the two races, German and Tchech (as the Sclaves are called in Bohemia); the union of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, with a common Diet, which was to meet by turns at Prague and Brunn; that all *employés* should speak both tongues; that judicial proceedings should be public; a separate and responsible chancery to sit at Prague; the formation of national guards; the extinction of feudal rights and privileges; security for personal liberty; and religious equality. A deputation with these

demands went to Vienna, where, after a series of delays and evasions, they were at last agreed to on the 8th of April. Bohemia was recognised as having a distinct nationality, under the viceroyalty of the present emperor, Francis Joseph.

Of Germans, there are in Bohemia 1,830,000; of Tchechs, 2,588,000. The Germans presently discovered that the bargain they had made incapacitated them for office. None of them, when the dominant race, had troubled themselves to learn Tchech; but the Tchechs, many of them, had learned German, and in consequence were alone capable of office. This revived the animosities between the two races; the court with its usual policy fomenting the differences. Contrary to what might have been anticipated, it took the side of the Tchechs. It was the object of the Panslavic theory to convert the Austrian Empire into a confederation of Sclave states; hence Prague rejected altogether with contempt any connexion with the Frankfort unity scheme, than which there was nothing Austria hated more. Hence their sympathy. A general Sclave Congress was convoked, to meet on the 31st of May, not only from the Austrian dominions but from foreign states, to concert measures for the integrity of the Sclave subjects of Austria. It declared that the Germans had assembled a parliament at Frankfort, and were intent on swallowing the separate states in the German Empire, and that the Sclave states had no intention of being so treated. At the same time, they established a Provisional Government at Prague, professing to consider the Vienna ministry to be under the dictation of the mob, and created a council of the regency to correspond directly with the emperor. They too would have their nationality bound together by the ties of race and tongue.

This congress was opened on the 2d of June, and only sat till the 12th; but in that short period it showed

that it had far other schemes than merely to gain from Austria the recognition of national existence. It published a manifesto to Europe, declaring an intention of obtaining full justice to the whole of the Sclave race, and that it meant to oblige the whole of the east of Europe to make reparation for the wrongs inflicted and the oppressions exercised on their Sclave populations. Great unanimity prevailed; Poles, Sclavonians, Croatians, Illyrians, Ruthenians, Slovacs, and Servians,—all were willing to give way in their own pretensions for the common good. It became clear to Austria that their desire for her preservation was not from any love of her, but that for the moment they could not carry on their ambitious schemes without her assistance. The emperor took the alarm. The ministry at Vienna, annoyed at the assumption that they were under the terror of the mob, declared the Bohemian Provisional Government to be illegal: thereupon there arose no small stir and rebellion in Prague. It raged for three days, and did not stop till the 17th of June, when it was put down by Prince Windischgrätz bombarding the town. He battered much of it into ruins. Upon this Prague became again dependent on Vienna. The most atrocious cruelties were committed during the riots by the insurgents; persons were drowned, crucified, mutilated, and murdered in cold blood. To such excesses do suddenly conferred political liberties too often lead the populace. It was this Sclave movement that raised Croatia and the Ban Jellachich against Hungary.

The Emperor Ferdinand was never personally unpopular. He was a very good-tempered, easy-going, amiable, weak person, but was led by his sister-in-law, the Archduchess Sophia, an imperious, inflexible, unscrupulous woman (the mother of Francis Joseph); and by a sort of back-stairs influence under her guidance.

For a couple of months after the first outbreak in March, there were no violent outward demonstrations in Vienna; but matters were preparing for another explosion. It is very probable that the secret movers of the machine of state were not much in earnest in their desire for popular reforms; indeed, it is more than probable they did their best to counteract them. Demagogues continued to harangue the people: the constitution they had obtained was not theoretically to their mind. It does not appear to have occurred to them that it might have been as well to try it before rejecting it. The Upper Chamber was declared aristocratic, as it undoubtedly was: this they were violently opposed to.

The students were further incensed by the court presuming to issue an order to dissolve the central committee of the national guard, consisting of about 200 persons, associated for political purposes. They took the lead in resisting government. A crowd of unruly, unwashed, unshaven, uncombed, beery, smoky under-graduates, at the head of a mob to whom the same epithets are applicable, marched to the palace, and modestly requested the minister to withdraw the troops, whose presence was inconvenient to them. They further desired that the central committee should not be abolished; that the elections for the chamber should be carried on in a different manner; and that there should be only one chamber.

The national guard, the Vienna shopkeepers—a class of persons not to be lightly trusted with firearms under any circumstance—joined the mob, as the stronger and more determined party. The ministers were frightened into complying. The constitution of the 15th May was promulgated, granting the popular demands. Thereupon the emperor's secret cabinet took fright, and abstracted him from the capital privately in the night, and fled with him to Innspruck, the capital of the Tyrol,

of which he was Count. Ten days later, they attempted with their troops to carry the city by military force: barricades were again erected: there was another outbreak, which lasted till night. At last ministers gave in, and the military were withdrawn. The emperor was to return, or to appoint one of the princes to represent him. He politically fell sick at Innspruck, sent a civil excuse, and appointed the Archduke Joseph to represent him, and to open the Assembly. It was opened on the 22d of July. The emperor himself came back on the 12th of August. In the meantime Croatia—a Sclave province subject to the Hungarian crown—stimulated by the Sclave movement, rebelled against Hungary. Jellachich, their elected chief or ban, was declared by the emperor a rebel, and forces were sent to put him down. They had partly done so; but Jellachich had been to Innspruck early in July, had made his peace, and was by the court secretly abetted in his quarrel with Hungary. The moment that the news of the first Vienna revolution was known in Lombardy, it produced there a similar result. The people of Milan crowded together to the prison, demanding the release of political prisoners. The soldiers fired a volley over their heads. They were on the point of running away, when a boy in the crowd fired a pistol at the soldiers, and cried out "Viva l'Italia." The people were roused, and overpowered the guard. The city was barricaded: Radetzky appears to have been uncertain what to do. He withdrew his troops. He did not know what sort of government might be in existence at Vienna to whom he would have to answer. Otherwise the Milanese had scarce got the city out of his hands without arms or ammunition so easily.

Most of the other cities of Lombardy followed the example. Venice declared itself a republic. Radetzky, however, managed to obtain possession of Mantua and

Verona. On the same day that Radetzky began his retreat, Charles Albert crossed the frontier at the head of an army.

On the 31st of March, the German preliminary Parliament had opened at Frankfort. The German Parliament met on the 18th of May. They created a provisional central government for all Germany, of which the Archduke John of Austria was appointed regent. He arrived at Frankfort, and was installed in his office. This was on the 12th of July.

On the 6th of October there began another revolution at Vienna, a city unusually prolific of them even in 1848. On that day a regiment of German grenadiers, who were favourable to the liberal cause, were ordered to march against the Hungarians. Having previously obtained information of the order, they communicated the fact to the national guard and academical legion. Count Latour, the war minister, had been the previous evening waited on by a deputation, who represented that if these orders were attempted to be carried out, a disturbance would result. It is reported that he replied that a disturbance was what he particularly wished for, because he would then be able to proclaim martial law in Vienna. The national guards and students during the night broke up the line of railway by which the troops were to proceed, and barricaded the bridge over which they would have to march to get to the next station. The grenadiers were ordered to storm the barricade: they fraternized with the national guard who defended it. They and the academical legion mustered behind it in considerable force, and succeeded in routing all the infantry, cavalry, and artillery that were sent against them. The insurgents then marched into the town.

A general combat in the streets began; the government troops were everywhere worsted. Between five and

six in the evening the national guards, in search of Latour, on whom to wreak their vengeance, stormed the war-office, repulsing the troops who came up in its defence. During the scuffle in the streets, some miscreants ascended the stairs, and found Latour concealed in a wooden box in the garrets. They dragged him from his hiding-lace, and murdered him on the spot; dragged the body down stairs, but finding exit impossible, owing to the pressure of the crowd, they pitched it out of the window. The mob below, yelling and mad with anger, seized on the corpse, and hung it up to the next lamp-post; and after stripping it naked—not contented with this exhibition of popular enthusiasm and universal philanthropy—left it there for a whole day, using it as a target for their bullets and sabres.

A portion of the national guard favourable to the government still held out in the arsenal, and poured a storm of grape, canister, and other projectiles on the insurgents. The building was, however, set fire to by Congreve rockets, and many perished in the flames. The remainder surrendered on the morning of the 7th. On the capture of the arsenal, about 100,000 muskets fell into the hands of the mob, who were now in complete possession of the city.

The Emperor Ferdinand had never been personally unpopular. Hence probably it did not occur to the mob at this time to proclaim a republic. The Diet had assembled, and on the 6th—the day the insurrection began—they declared themselves "en permanence," and appointed a deputation to carry an address to the emperor. They demanded the appointment of a new ministry, the revocation of the proclamation against the Hungarians, the deposition of the Ban Jellachich from his government, and an amnesty for the riots of the day; and they elected a committee of safety. The emperor returned an evasive answer over night, and absconded next morning. He

carried with him, or was carried away with, the rest of the imperial family. Perhaps they were not wrong in thinking themselves in danger. Popular enthusiasm is not discriminating: if a minister, why not an archduchess? A sealed proclamation was left with the minister Kraus, which he read the same morning to the Diet, but at the same time stated that he had refused to countersign it. The emperor attributed, truly enough, the troubles of his capital to a small but audacious party, who disturbed the country, and caused the massacres of the people, and who hoodwinked them to their own destruction. He said he had done all that a sovereign could do; he had given way to his people in everything; he had been driven from his capital, but had returned, and put full confidence in the affections of his people. All would not do. He had left his capital to seek aid for his slaughtered and oppressed subjects.

Upon this the Assembly assumed to itself the powers of the executive. They began to fight their emperor in their emperor's name: the idea was not original. They sent after him invitations to return, and suggested that absence might cause a forfeiture of his crown. They sent a message to Count Auersperg, who was in command of the military outside, to come inside the walls and be caught. He excused himself by saying that he must obey the last order of the war-minister, which was to keep outside; and that, as the minister was unhappily murdered, he regretted the impossibility of the revocation of the order, but added, that as soon as a new minister was properly appointed, he should be happy to obey him. They sent a deputation to Jellachich, who was approaching with his Croats, but succeeded no better. He said that he should obey the orders of the emperor, not theirs. Their next overture was to Kossuth, who promised, with his undisciplined army, to sweep the emperor's

troops from the emperor's capital; but he did not perform anything, owing to the antipathy existing between his raw army and firearms.

The emperor threw himself into the hands of his Sclave subjects, and retired to Olmütz in Moravia, and with their support declared war against the rebels. Prince Windischgrätz was appointed to command all his troops, save those in Italy, who were under Radetzky. In the meantime, the Ban Jellachich had been worsted by the Hungarians at Veleneze, and had, after agreeing to an armistice, marched away or run away to Vienna with the Hungarians, too prematurely elated, behind him. His troops were somewhat distressed with their long march or flight, and he remained encamped for some days near the city without making any demonstration against it.

Meanwhile, the city inside its walls was in a state of painful suspense. The rabble marched up and down, decorated in as military a manner as they could improvise on so short a notice. This man appeared with cross-belt, that with epaulets; some students, having buckled on the sword, had, much to their personal discomfort, adopted the equestrian spurs, and become horse-sóldiers. Nevertheless, although preparations were made, and they talked big, it was clear to observers that the whole population were in a great fright. There were certain of the louder sort who proposed sallying out sword in hand, and sweeping away Jellachich and his Croats as chaff before the wind; but the prúdenter preferred to remain protected by walls. They probably doubted whether they "were the besom that must sweep the world of such chaff" as he was. No doubt perfect unanimity would have prevailed had they felt sure that Jellachich would be willing to be so swept; and although the "Proletariers," as the Viennese called their rabble, could march up and down and play the soldier when there was no one to shoot at them, it

would be a different matter if there were. Not to mention the horrid inhumanity of a charge of bayonets, which was positive assassination.

The great hopes of the Vienna popular party lay in the Hungarian army, who were understood to be in rapid pursuit of Jellachich. But the Hungarian leaders were doubtful of the propriety of crossing the frontier, and they did not come. On the 19th of October, Windischgrätz arrived. The city was then surrounded by an army of 100,000 men; still the Viennese hoped for the arrival of the Hungarians. The next day Windischgrätz sent a trumpet to demand the submission of the town, with an intimation, that if it were not surrendered in twenty-four hours, he should begin the bombardment. The common council, under the compulsion of the mob, and sorely against its will, was forced to refuse these terms. They were determined to hold out. Negotiations still continued. It was not till the morning of the 28th that the bombardment actually began. The Hungarian vanguard was reported to be close at hand, but did nothing. The insurgents sent a deputation to Windischgrätz, proposing a surrender. He required the disarming of the workmen and the students. Messenhausen, who commanded the academic legion, told them he was prepared to obey their orders to defend the city, but represented that their condition was nearly desperate. The troops were in possession of the suburbs, and the walls were not fit to sustain an escalade. It was resolved by the council that the defence should cease. On the 30th the disarming had actually commenced, when it was reported that the Hungarians were at last come, and were driving in the enemy's outposts.

General Behm, who had the command of the workmen, and who had on the previous day protested against the surrender, took the opportunity of recommencing the con-

test: it began again with greater activity than ever. But after the first surprise the imperial troops were again successful. Jellachich was detached to drive off the Hungarians, which he did much at his ease, for Kossuth's raw recruits ran away, as might have been naturally expected of men without military discipline. The next day the town-council wished to renew the previous treaty for capitulation: flags of surrender were hung out from the houses: but when the troops approached, the people opened a murderous fire on them. Provoked at this breach of faith, Windischgrätz ordered the gates to be carried by storm. The Burg Thor was carried, and the fight raged in the streets for the next few days, and it was not till the 2d of November that the conflict ceased. The fight was carried on with the greatest barbarity: the lawless Croats were let loose on the unfortunate city to rob and murder: quarter was refused even to those not resisting.

The firing, however, in the previous part of the siege does not appear to have been very destructive, owing to the consideration of the insurgents, who were observed to keep very much under cover of their barricades and fortifications; in consequence of which precaution few of them were injured by the enemy's fire. And the further consequence arose, that they themselves, firing over the top of the barricade, sent their shots clear over the heads of all the besiegers, owing to which humane manner of fighting comparatively few were killed.

Another circumstance contributing to the same result appears to have been the singular mistake many of them made in hurrying with arms in their hands, and on valorous deeds intent, in the opposite direction to that from which the heaviest cannonade was to be heard. Perhaps they were misled by the echo—perhaps they looked for the real onslaught in the opposite quarter, thinking the cannonade a feint.

Once in possession of the city, Windischgrätz began the usual Austrian system of pacification by executing rebels. He had himself been deeply afflicted in his own family by the convulsions of the time. His wife and son had been killed in the disturbances of Prague: he was not likely to look on the crime of rebellion with a favourable eye. Messenhausen, the commander of the academical legion, was shot; and Robert Blum, of Leipsig, a member of the Frankfort Parliament, shared the same fate. Executions were by the defeated party thought much too numerous; but treason, breach of capitulation, and rebellion, are crimes too dangerous to states to be allowed to go unpunished. Their authors are the cause of more destruction of life and more wretchedness than any other criminals whatever. They are more inconvenient to human society than any other, and therefore ought to be more severely dealt with. This was a revolt beginning with military treason, and ending in military execution.

Freedom is a plant of slow growth: a people's habits and thoughts must be accustomed to guide themselves in small matters before they attempt great ones. Freedom can only be attained by the steady perseverance of a people in managing their own affairs, and not allowing the interference of government in them. It must be won in independent municipal institutions, by local self-government. To convert a police-drilled, functionary-ridden people to a state of freedom is simply impossible. A people so drilled have not the choice of right and wrong: they have neither freedom of action nor real freedom of thought. They have no real respect for the law: it is not a matter of choice that they obey, but of compulsion. In a free country it is otherwise. Freemen are aware that obedience to the law is so essential to the interests of society at large, that each person who is not an outcast from society thinks his own obedience to law a direct advantage to himself. In the

one case, all laws are confounded: the just, salutary, and necessary, with the unjust, troublesome, pettifogging, useless, pilfering, interference of police and functionaries. In the other, the law is regarded as the general bond of mutual advantage in which society is bound together. Hence in this country the wholesome dread of the policeman's baton, a matter so mysterious to foreigners. Of such a people it would be difficult to make slaves, but it would be next to impossible to make them a wild democracy—with every man's hand against his neighbour's. The only mode of reducing them to slavery would be to destroy their aristocracy, and the system of decentralized local self-government now existing.

These are the real institutions and safeguards of freedom: while these exist efficiently, whatever form the general government assumes, the practical freedom of the greater part of the inhabitants of a country is secured. Where such institutions are inefficient or non-existent, no machinery exists to keep order in a state the moment there is a cessation of the central power, and the lead falls into the hands of stump-orators, bagsmen, noisy terrorists, and, in short, of every person too idle to get his living by any more laborious exertion than putting his hand into his neighbours' pockets. Real freedom requires the habit of many generations, and in the meantime the first necessity of man is a government. Hence democratic license is usually succeeded by military despotism. If a people know what true freedom is, and are in earnest to obtain it, a stubborn perseverance to win step by step independent local self-government and personal freedom would seldom fail to do so. Freedom so founded may be permanent: none other can. But the difficulty is, the populace uneducated are shortsighted, and they are too jealous of an aristocracy to trust to its greater foresight.

CHAPTER II.

A SKETCH OF THE CONDITION OF HUNGARY PREVIOUS TO 1848.

HUNGARY, with Transylvania and Croatia, is about the size of Great Britain and Ireland, and contains nearly 15,000,000 of inhabitants. It is inhabited by three distinct races of men. The Magyars, in number 5,000,000, the descendants of the ancient Huns, are the gentry and nobles of the country. The Sclavonian population, who are in Hungary called Slovacs, number 6,000,000, and are a part of the great Sclave family who occupy the greater portion of the east and north of Europe—a family which numbers among its members Russia, Poland, the greater part of the Austrian dominions, and the greater part of Turkey in Europe. The eastern portion of the country is inhabited by the Roumans or Wallachs, in number about 3,000,000. They are the descendants of the Dacian colonies of Trajan, and speak a dialect the greater part of which is of Latin origin. There are 1,600,000 Jews, Gipsies, and Germans, who may be considered as colonists rather than natives. The Magyars being the gentry, the Slovacs and Roumans are the yeomen of the country. These races speaking different languages

very generally have used the Latin tongue as the means of intercommunication. Almost every one understood and spoke it after a sort: it was the language of the Diet. The debates were held in it, and it was the language employed in communicating with the government at Vienna. The Magyar migration took place about the end of the ninth century, under their leader Arpad. His descendants ruled Hungary as Dukes till the reign of St Stephen, to whom the Pope gave the title of King and Apostle in consequence of his zeal in converting his countrymen from their pagan superstitions. This, with much difficulty and after many relapses, was at length effected. The crown remained with the descendants of Arpad as long as his race lasted. Upon their dying out it became elective in the fourteenth century, and has remained so ever since.

Much intestine trouble was the result. One prince being elected, half a dozen were dissatisfied at non-election, and separately or together fell on the successful candidate of the people. The Turks, taking advantage of these differences, invaded Hungary and completed its misfortunes. Eventually Ferdinand the First of Austria was elected King of Hungary, and the crown of St Stephen has ever since remained with his descendants; but they have gained no other rights thereby than those of constitutional and elected monarchs. Each was elected by the Diet, and before coronation was obliged to take an oath to observe the Hungarian constitution.

In the reign of the Emperor Charles the Sixth, he settled the succession to his paternal dominions, including Hungary, by the Pragmatic Sanction, upon his daughter Maria Theresa and her descendants, who were to be elected to the crown of Hungary, and swear to observe the constitution. By this Hungarian rights were guaranteed; and should the elected monarch break his coro-

nation-oath, it was declared lawful for the Hungarian people to resist him by force of arms. The Pragmatic Sanction was the sole tie which bound Hungary to the Austrian monarch; and that tie being broken through, the constitution being interfered with, the emperor might be lawfully resisted, and could no more treat those resisting him as rebels, than he could by the laws of nations so treat any foreign nations with whom he might happen to quarrel. Hungary never became a component part of the Austrian empire; it preserved its own laws and its own constitution. It was no more Austrian than England was Hanoverian when George of Brunswick succeeded to the English throne. The emperor was in Hungary not obeyed as Emperor of Austria, but as King of Hungary; his orders were addressed to the chancery of that state, to which none but natives could be admitted, and who were bound to obey no orders not warranted by their national laws. He had no power to alter anything belonging to their government without the recommendation of the parliament of Hungary, the Magyars or nobles being the only persons who had any voice in them.*

In considering the struggle which took place in 1848

* The Sclave and Rouman populations had no share whatever in the government; a distinction which should be clearly borne in mind. In ignorance of this much democratic flattery has been lavished on some of the Hungarian refugees, both here and in America, although the representatives of aristocracy and the opponents of those classes not noble. At the same time it is to be remembered that they, although an aristocracy, are in proportion a very numerous one; that they are in number at least a third of the entire population; and though many of them are poor, indeed there is an entire class of pauper nobles, yet each man among them is as proud a gentleman as the greatest magnate of the land, and has as keen a sense of honour. Daring, ardent, and impatient of control; impetuous, patriotic, loving freedom, but wanting in steady industry and perseverance, they still show those qualities which in former days made their ancestors, the Huns of Attila, the scourge of Europe, from the fierceness of their passions and their warlike disposition. They have hitherto in every age been the bulwark of the empire. To sum up their character in a few

and 1849, it must never be lost sight of that the only connexion between Hungary and Austria was, that the king of the one and the emperor of the other happened to be the same person. The house of Hapsburg had no right over it, but by the voluntary election of the nobles, which had been first obtained by one of the fortunate matrimonial alliances of that fortunate house of whom the epigrammatist has written:—

> "Bella gerant alii, ut tu felix Austria nube
> Nam quæ Mars aliis dat tibi regna Venus."

Austria was in fact an assembly of kingdoms—a sort of United States—each governed by its own laws; some absolute, some aristocratic, of which the emperor was king, prince, or duke. They were united in him, but between each other distinct and separate.

That these different races of men should at various times have shown such devotion to their sovereign, and that often under such trying circumstances, is probably owing to that which *was* the hereditary policy of Austria, in lulling the jealousies and stilling the rivalries of her incongruous elements. The original dominions of Austria were so small, her power so weak, that, unable to force obedience in her provinces, she resorted to the easier, more politic, as well as more Christian system of conciliation, convincing them, by her attention to their wants, that their best safeguard was in her welfare. Under this

words, they are as gallant a body of patriotic gentlemen as are to be met with in Europe. Possibly some of those who profess to regard history as little more than an old almanac, will somewhat wonder to find that they have been led away into bestowing their most lusty cheers on persons differing from themselves in every respect. Possibly, too, when it is known that if the Hungarian fought against Austria, it was in defence of established rights, guaranteed by treaties which had been invaded, and not for the purpose of encroaching on the authority of their lawful sovereign, they may gain the sympathy of those who have very much more in common both in feelings, in actions, and in traditions, than the persons by whom they have been hitherto adulated.

system no people, how homogeneous soever, have given proof of such devotion to their country and to their sovereign. "It was to the gallantry of the Hungarians that Maria Theresa owed the crown which was saved to her from French and Bavarian ambition. It was the steadiness of the Bohemians that enabled Marshal Daun to repel the armies of Frederick of Prussia within sight of Vienna. But for the patriotism of Hungary, Austria had fallen to rise no more at Austerlitz; and to the loyalty of the Tyrolese she owed her safety after the dreadful disaster of Wagram." Scarce any country contains such a variety of races; none have found in their inhabitants such invariable devotion, and under such trying misfortunes. It needed no prophet to foresee that it would be in an evil hour for her welfare that a policy so enlightened was discarded; that the love of her subjects would be turned to hatred, their trust in her changed to suspicion, and their obedience cold. The attempt to fit incongruous nations of different traditions, habits, and feelings with the same procrustean polity, is as absurd as to clothe a regiment of men of different sizes in a uniform of invariable dimensions. Such however was the attempt of Austria, not taken up as a momentary whim, but obstinately persevered in. The outbreak of Hungary in 1848 was her reward.

Hungarian dissatisfaction was a matter of gradual growth, and had arisen from this attempt by the Austrian cabinet to govern that country directly, instead of by means of legal institutions and recognised authorities. Instead of the emperor as a constitutional king remaining content to exercise his lawful prerogatives through the medium of the established national laws, the representative system, and a national administration, he pursued a system of central aggression which was met by a steady unflinching opposition on the part of Hungary.

The Constitution of Hungary to an Englishman is especially interesting, as in many parts of it there exists so great a similarity to his own. The Bulla Aurea, the Magna Charta of Hungary, was extracted from their king, Andreas the Second, in the year 1222. Not that this is claimed by the Hungarian as the origin of his rights and privileges; they date from his conquest of the country. The Bulla Aurea was only the official recognition of these rights obtained by the barons from the weakness of Andreas, within seven years of the same date when the weakness of John enabled our forefathers to extort from him the great charter of Runnymede.

This important document secured to every noble personal freedom, until citation and conviction before legal tribunals.

It secured him freedom from taxation; the descent of his fee to his sons; and in case of failure of male issue, the descent of a part to his daughters.

The priesthood received the same privileges as the nobles: their right to tithes, &c., was secured to them.

The right to resist by force of arms any sovereign violating the provisions of this charter was fully recognised.

At the coronation of every king of Hungary, he was sworn to observe the conditions of the Bulla Aurea: it is looked on as the great charter of Hungarian freedom.

The article, however, as to the right of resistance has been omitted since 1687: not as the decree says from any objection to its true sense, but lest evil-disposed persons by a false interpretation should make a wrong use of it.

A noble alone is capable of holding land in fee: he holds it free from tax, tithe, or toll. He is supposed to be descended from the warriors who first conquered the land, and his sole burden of tenure is to appear in arms, under the banner of his sovereign, to repel foreign invasion. This property he cannot sell legally, though he

does so by an evasion, but with an insecure title. The nobles are divided into three classes. The first, or magnates, answer to our peers. They consist of all the counts and barons of Hungary (titles which descend equally to all the sons), who at the age of twenty-five years have a right to take their places in the House of Peers; these, with the magnates by office (the lord-lieutenants of the counties and the great officers of state) and the bishops, form the Upper House. The Upper House has no right to originate any measure, and is restricted to a mere *veto*, which, however, it exercises pretty liberally. Of this Chamber the Palatine is the president.

The Lower Chamber, or House of Commons, consists of the members for the fifty-two counties, each of which sends two members, who, however, have only one vote between them, which vote they must exercise according to the wish of their constituents. They are not elected for a period certain, but during good behaviour; and if the vote of any of them displeases his constituents, they can recall him, and at once proceed to elect another. The deputy is in fact a delegate, not a member of parliament in our sense of the word. He is paid 12s. a-day, and is found in lodgings while he is employed, and is obliged to attend to his work. They communicate to their constituents the motions about to be brought forward. These are debated in a county meeting, which is summoned four times a-year by the sheriff or *vice comes*: and when the constituency has decided, instructions are sent to the representative. In some instances, when the deputy by boldness of speech has got into trouble, the county has met and declared, that in speaking as he has he has only represented its feelings.

Next come the borough members. They are, in fact, either government nominees, or obtain their places by corrupt influence of one sort or another: a vice not uncommon

in such constituencies. The result has been that the nobles and counties have deprived them of the right of voting at all, but they are allowed to speak. The representatives of the clergy are allowed to speak on ecclesiastical subjects; but it is not usual for them to speak on any other.

The consequences of this system are, the town populations are gradually becoming imbued with an antinational feeling, which is rather fomented than otherwise by Austria.

Besides these parts of the Chamber who either vote or speak, is a fourth set of deputies, who do neither one nor the other; these are the deputies appointed by the widows of the magnates, who are of course unable to give personal attendance. Any magnate also who is unable to attend from any sufficient reason, has a right of appointing a deputy, who sits in the Lower Chamber: his privilege consists of crying "hear, hear." In fact, he is usually a poor law-student, or some dependent whom business has brought to Presburg, and who thus gets his lodgings at the expense of the town.

According to law, the Diet ought to be called every three years, and that within the borders of Hungary. When assembled, it goes on with its business till none remains. There is not an annual session as in our parliament. Formerly a few weeks or months were sufficient to get through the business, but latterly it has frequently sat for several years. The Austrian government has, however, as much as it could, avoided calling it together. On assembling, the king lays before it the royal propositions, on which they debate and decide as they see fit. This is, however, a very inconsiderable part of their occupation, for every member has a right to introduce any subject his constituents think fit, under the title of grievances. After the acts of the parliament have received the royal

assent, they are forwarded to the chief magistrates of the country, and are registered and published in all the towns under their administration.

When a question is put to the vote in the House of Commons, it is put to the members one after another, and each in his turn rises and delivers his opinion, either by making a speech, or by giving in a few short sentences the wishes of his constituents. The county elections take place at the county meeting, held by an officer, who corresponds with our sheriff. Formerly they used to be put to the vote; but the Austrian government has lately restored the more ancient manner of electing by acclamation. It hoped to enable the returning officer, who was its own nominee, to return the court member during the uproar; but the idea was not successful in consequence of the Hungarians having the unaccommodating habit of throwing the sheriff out of the window if he was supposed to act unfairly. Popular enthusiasm occasionally breaks out in ebullitions in which people have lost their lives, but not more so than in our own elections. It may be easily imagined that a hot-blooded people of these habits is regarded with horror by a government who try to drill all their subjects under police and military martinets, and that such a meeting would scare a person educated under such a system. But a few election rows are not sufficient to disgust an Englishman with free institutions wherever he finds them. After the election, heart-burnings cease, and all are very good friends again, eating and drinking and making merry together at the table of the lord-lieutenant, who is bound to entertain all comers. In such elections government influence is nothing.

In the towns the population are more peaceable. They do not throw their officers out of the windows, they are wheedled and corrupted, and are not unfrequently intimi-

dated by government; and hence the county constituencies have refused to admit them to vote, as being mere tools of the court. But there was a general desire to reform the constituencies of the boroughs and to give the members a vote. Theoretically the parliament only has the right of voting taxes. Practically, however, the Austrian crown has assumed the right of levying indirect taxes: the largest item of revenue thus raised is a tax on salt. This tax has been a subject of great discontent. Austria has also assumed the right of imposing import and export duties, by means of which she contrives to cripple the commerce of Hungary: commercial prosperity being, it is supposed, inconsistent with despotic government. It must not be forgotten, however, that the taxes voted by the parliament fall entirely on the peasant: from them the noble is entirely exempt, and therefore by the indirect taxes alone does he contribute to the revenue.

In fact, the portion of national taxation over which the parliament has control is only one-sixth of the general taxation, which is by no means the whole taxation raised in the country. A county rate is raised in each county for county purposes. This rate is voted at the county meetings: the amount of course varies in different counties according to the necessities of each. But it falls exclusively on the peasant, who has no share in voting it—a system which no one can approve, for no one ought to be called on to pay taxes who has not a share in voting them. Each town, too, has the right of levying rates on its citizens for municipal purposes: the officers are in general elective.

It is owing to this system of decentralization that, in spite of the interruption of the parliament by the Austrian government, the spirit of constitutional government has been kept alive in Hungary, and is in consequence deeply rooted in the minds and affections of the people. In short,

they are so much in the habit of managing their own affairs as to be very unwilling that any one should presume to intermeddle in them. No other system could have kept alive that indomitable love of constitutional government which the parliament has always shown whenever it has met, however long it has been prevented from meeting.

The condition of the peasant is not that of a mere serf. He holds his land, it is true, by a villain tenure of the lord of the manor, but he is secured in his possession of it, very much like our copyholder, subject to the performance of his duty to his lord. This consists of doing a certain number of days' work on the lord's land. He can sell his land; and though in disputes between peasant and peasant, he is subject to the jurisdiction of the lord's court, yet in disputes between himself and his lord he is not. He pays two shillings a-year for his house, besides some small dues in chickens and eggs, amounting to no great thing. The village judge is elected by the peasantry out of three persons nominated by the lord, and he is generally understood to nominate the three persons most desirable. It is his office also to collect the taxes and to punish rogues and vagabonds, and trivial offences.

The peasant is far from the condition of a serf, although he has not some of the privileges which we are in the habit of considering the birthright of a freeman. His land alone is subject to taxes; but should a peasant's fee be purchased by a noble the land is still liable. The welfare of the peasant is cared for by a series of legislative enactments. He is practically the owner in fee, subject to certain services, and is protected against the oppression of his lord.* Nevertheless the condition of the

* We have some services in our copyhold tenures quite as servile, such as mending the lord's fences or reaping his corn, to say nothing of "*Willelmus Hoppeshor* qui tenet dimidium virgatam terræ in Rochampton per hoc servitum quod custodiet sex demmisellas silicet meretrices in usum domini regis."

peasant is far from what it might be, though it is improved no doubt since an ancient diet declared, "Nulla res majis florenti quondam Hungariæ statui nocuisse videtur, oppressione colonorum quorum clamor ascendit jugiter ante conspectum Dei." However the peasantry are the elements from which might be formed a future yeomanry, who would be the mainstay of the country.

One of the chief leaders of the popular or national party had been Baron Wesselenyi. He had been the leader of the opposition in Transylvania, where he had succeeded some years previously in turning against the government, by his eloquence, a chamber of which they nominated one-half, at the time the question of admitting the peasants to the same free condition as the nobles was agitating the country. On one occasion he came to a meeting at Szatmar, where the electors were met to draw up instructions to their deputies. He spoke out boldly on this subject. In order to still the jealousy of the lesser nobles against any extension of their privileges to the peasantry, he used his best persuasion to convince them of the real unity of their interests, and called on them to do justice. He taxed the Austrian government with fomenting the jealousy between the two parties for the furtherance of their private intrigues, mentioning, in terms more strong than courteous, the meanness of such a policy. No one doubted or denied the truth of the charge; but the sheriff appeared to consider the language as too strong. But nothing more was heard of the matter till two months after, when after he had taken his seat as a Hungarian magnate in the House of Peers, government began a process against him as having used treasonable words; contrary to all law, for no one is liable for words used at a legal public meeting unless the sheriff or some member commences the verbal process at the time. The country was thrown into a storm of indignation; remonstrances poured in from all

sides; all other business in parliament was at a standstill. Balogh, the member for Bars, declared in his place that he should not consider himself guilty of any great crime if he adopted the very words of Wesselenyi. He was another of the popular leaders. The government included him in the prosecution. Parliament protested against such an infringement of their freedom of discussion. The county he represented met, and voted that what he had said was their opinion, and took on themselves the responsibility of the speech.

Deak was another leader of the same party who spoke strongly against the government on this occasion. Government began to find themselves in a difficulty. They offered privately to grant an immediate pardon if they were asked. This compromise was ignominiously rejected.

Kossuth, the future leader of Hungary, was at the time a young member. He had, during the session, occupied himself in reporting its debates, which he printed in a newspaper. Government interfered. He had them lithographed, and so circulated all over the country. Again government interfered. He then had them copied out by innumerable secretaries, and distributed them to the constituencies. The government took offence, accused him of misreporting, and confuted his accuracy by the summary and convincing process of putting him in prison, and keeping him there some years. During this imprisonment he learned English. Count Louis Batthyani was the leader of the national party in the peers.

But Count Szechenyi has been one of the most practical improvers of his country. Not content with politically supporting the national party, he applied himself to practical improvements. He introduced steam communication on the Danube; he improved the breed of horses; he established roads and built bridges (the bridge which he

was instrumental in building between Pesth and Buda the Austrians attempted to blow up during the siege, but the officer to whom the deed was intrusted fortunately failed to accomplish its destruction, and he even persuaded the nobles, though with no small difficulty, to pay a toll for the use of them; he started a race meeting at Pesth, which annually brings together the gentry of the country, and gives them considerably greater power of combination for political purposes.

He was one of the first authors who ventured to write in the Magyar tongue, and recommended the Hungarians to give a greater attention to their own language. He, in fact, became so disagreeable to Austria, that they felt obliged to get rid of him by giving him employment. He, seeing a great field before him, accepted the employment of rendering navigable the Lower Danube; and his exertions have been such as to have been of far more real service and practical use to his country than those of the most vituperative "stump orator." His maxim appears to have been—Make a people prosperous, and they must be powerful and free.

The magnates of Hungary are often absentees. Frequently ignorant of their own language, though speaking several others like natives, they are in other respects well educated; but as a body they are too much addicted to courts and capitals, where they are despised, perhaps, as semi-barbarians, while at home they are disliked as foreigners, or as ashamed of their country. They usually belong to the Latin Church. By far the most respectable of the inhabitants of Hungary are the second class of nobility, the squirearchy. They are addicted to field sports, and live in the country by preference during most of the year; and though less polished than some of the counts and barons, are much more characteristic and national. The Hungarian squire is not the most rapid

reformer in the world; indeed the whole race of Magyars are essentially conservative, and prefer the ways of their grandfathers unless there is something to be gained by the change. The third class or lower nobles—the half-spurs or one-horse nobles, as they are called—are little removed above the peasantry, except in being noble, or, what is equivalent, freemen. They are generally a brave, hospitable, patriotic, but proud, unruly, and hard-drinking set; not by any means bad companions, but very partially educated. Of these three classes is the people (*populus*) of Hungary composed; the residue being (*plebs*) plebeians, not even having the rights of the old Roman *plebs*. These are the peasantry. The second and third class of nobles are usually Protestant, either Calvinist or Lutheran. One of the greatest obstacles to commercial prosperity is the difficulty of recovering a debt from a noble: his estate is a castle of refuge from his creditor, from which he can be taken with great difficulty; and though Austria is much complained of, perhaps this has more to do with the want of prosperity than her interference.

CHAPTER III.

THE HUNGARIAN WAR.

When the Paris revolution of February 1848 had taken place, Kossuth, in the Lower House of Parliament, which then happened to be sitting, made a speech on the subject, calling upon it to assert its independence of an empire that had violated all the conditions of the union. The idea was greedily seized on by a discontented people, incensed by the endeavours of their rulers to overturn the freedom handed down to them from their fathers. The spirit of patriotism thus kindled spread with the greatest speed from the centre of the kingdom to its circumference, animating all with the utmost enthusiasm. Great was the dismay of the Austrian cabinet. The reading of Kossuth's speech to the mob was the proximate cause of the explosion of the Viennese revolution. Two days afterwards Kossuth arrived at Vienna, accompanied by a fleet of steamers, full of Hungarians. He frequently spoke to the people. But not yet intoxicated by success, he had the prudence to keep within the limits of strict law. The sole advantage he took of the panic was to back his demands on the emperor for those rights to which Hungary was justly

entitled, and which were unjustly withheld. He demanded the formation of a purely national administration, and the transfer to them of the government of the military frontiers, hitherto conducted by the War Office of Vienna. The Austrian government, not then in a position to refuse, granted these demands. Their hands were full with their other provinces. It was lucky for Austria that Hungary so restricted herself; had it been otherwise, it is not improbable that the Austrian Empire had been wiped out of the map of Europe.

Of the new Hungarian ministry, Louis Batthyani was president. Kossuth was minister of finance. He was the leading spirit of the government. He had been the leader of the opposition to the Austrian government in the lower house, and at once took in hand the task of setting in order the affairs of the country, and making the necessary reforms. The rights granted to the Magyars or gentry could not be pleasing to the Slovacks and Roumans. It is true that the constitution of the parliament of Hungary was altered, and the other classes nominally admitted to the privileges of the nobles; but these boons were practically useless. One of the objects most passionately desired by the Magyars was the use of their own language. They had succeeded in substituting it for Latin in their communications with Austria, and as the language of parliament. Not a syllable of Magyar was understood by the Slovack and Rouman, although they all knew some Latin, which had been for centuries the recognised means of intercommunication in a country where the astonishing mixture of tongues renders a common one a matter of necessity. The Magyars, alive to the hardship of being compelled to carry on their own business in a foreign tongue, which they were acquainted with, do not appear to have appreciated the injustice of requiring others to carry on theirs in a tongue of which they were

perfectly ignorant. They endeavoured then to force their language on the rest of the people. In the village schools and the pulpit no language but Magyar was allowed—none other tolerated in the Diet. This exclusiveness aggravated against them the other races. Croatia and Sclavonia are inhabited by Sclaves. Their country is on the south-west part of Hungary, lying along the river Drave. It is a province subject to Hungary, and is in a somewhat similar position towards it that Hungary itself is to Austria. It is governed by a Diet, elected by Sclavonia and Croatia, and meeting at Agram. Their Diet was represented in Hungary by three delegates; and the viceroy of the kingdom, or the Ban, as he is called, is elected by the Diet. The title of Ban of Croatia is the third in rank under the crown of Hungary, and is next to those of Palatine and Supreme Judge.

Between the two neighbours there had long existed a grudge, such as is mentioned by the ancient satirist to have agitated the rabble of Ombi and Tentyra. The explosion was not produced, it was only hastened by the changes of March. Rights of veto in certain cases were taken from Croatia in the Diet. The government of the military frontiers, chiefly inhabited by Croats, was assumed by Hungary. The existence of Croatia as a separate kingdom was threatened. The language addressed by the Croats to the Magyars was much the same as the former had for twenty years addressed to the Austrians. Their answer appears to have been formed on the Austrian model. Popular passion void of individual responsibility is apt to see its own and other people's rights in a very different light. Upon these symptoms of disaffection being shown, the minister Kossuth denounced the Croats as rebels, and the Ban as a traitor to the King of Hungary. He concluded his speech thus:—"We will never acknowledge that the Ban Jellachich is equal with

the King of Hungary. The King of Hungary may pardon; it is the duty of Jellachich to obey." Loyal enough! The emperor had himself denounced Jellachich as a rebel. A Diet for Croatia had been held, which had been declared illegal; and Field-Marshal Hrabousky had fought with and defeated the Ban by the emperor's order. But the Ban had gone to Innspruck, and in person had explained his purpose to the emperor, and had been received into favour. The conduct of the emperor was politic. Jellachich still continued in rebellion against Hungary, with the emperor's connivance. The quarrel was tried to be patched up by negotiations on the part of Batthyani and Jellachich; but they parted in anger, and appealed to the sword to decide their dispute. The cause of the Croats may have been just; the conduct of Austria speaks for itself. It is doubtful whether that which in private would be stigmatized as shuffling, should be permitted in public to exalt itself as "policy." Here was a declared rebel secretly aided and abetted by his own sovereign against his own government as established by law, though ostensibly the chief of an insurgent province, and condemned by the emperor and the palatine of Hungary, his viceroy. Jellachich, in fact, acted at the emperor's request. The end may have been right, the cause just; but can any one justify such crooked courses to attain it?

When Windischgrätz had by his military exploits put the cabinet and the archduchess in a position to face their difficulties, their first thoughts appear to have been to retract those concessions which fear of the consequences, not intrinsic justice, had extorted. They had been induced to revert to the old conciliatory policy of the empire by a recurrence of the circumstances which had originally induced that policy. They now returned to the mad project of governing according to the philosophic visions of impracticable theories, of forcing their subjects, willing or un-

willing, into the procrustean bed of imaginary perfection. Weakness had made them just, prudent, and Christian. The first vision of power restored them to their previous vices. The scheme of reducing the empire to a uniform government had been interfered with by the boons granted to Hungary: these must be recalled. At Vienna the government fomented the feeling of jealousy between Hungary and the Croats. But Hungary perceived its danger. The parliament, at the motion of Kossuth, voted forty-two millions of florins for the purpose of raising an army of two hundred thousand men to defend it.

The Emperor, who on the Vienna troubles had retired to Innspruck, was invited by the Hungarians to come and reside at Pesth as King of Hungary. He was requested to come and reign over his Hungarian subjects as long as he should choose to remain absent from his German capital. He was further informed, that if such were his wish, they would gladly receive a king of his selection from among his family. The Archduke Francis Joseph (now emperor) was named as the person who would be most pleasing to the nation. These friendly offers were rejected as it seemed by fatuous perversity. When will Emperors and their advisers remember that government was made for man, not man for governments. Instead of ruling by law over willing and loyal subjects, the Emperor chose to rule by military force over those in whom the power, not the will, was only wanting to vindicate their rights. He knew not or had forgot that—

> "The tribute most high to the head that is royal
> Is love from the heart that loves liberty too."

When the Emperor returned to Vienna, another deputation was sent to him, consisting of 120 members of the legislature, selected from both Houses of Parliament.

With firmness but respect they remonstrated with him on his behaviour as King of Hungary. They were, as might have been foreseen, coldly received. The emperor's answer was directly the reverse of the strict legal rights of the respective parties, and in violation of his coronation oath, which oath he was afterwards called on by the protest of all the Hungarian bishops to fulfil. He refused to listen to their demands, and that day Jellachich, with an army of 18,000 regulars and 36,000 Croats, crossed the river Drave, and advanced on Hungary, as has been mentioned.

This hostile demonstration took place before any declaration of such a purpose had been made by the Austrian government: it was made against a provincial government in legal possession: that provincial government had acceded to power with the consent of the emperor. Sovereigns, to act legally, must act according to established customs.* In fact Jellachich acting by the direct orders of the emperor was legally a rebel; he was acting against those administering under the emperor's name, without the emperor having discharged them from their offices; thus both legally and equitably the Hungarians had right on their side. In opposing Jellachich, they were

* Is the right of the Hungarians to resist doubted? Suppose a sovereign of this country were to imagine it to be a great pity that England and Scotland should be under a different code of laws, and finding the Scotch unwilling to submit to English legislation, he were to order his guards in person to march into Scotland, and having insulted the Lords of Session, and profaned the rampant lion, to proceed to declare the laws of England at the market-cross;—suppose them to be accompanied by several justices in Eyre, and a crowd of London attorneys and barristers;—suppose the one to fall on the advocates, and the other on the writers to the signet, and were, after stripping them of their official habiliments, to occupy their places, and include that country in the northern circuit; and suppose, in conclusion, he were to restrain the Highlanders by the tyranny of breeches;—who would doubt, that in such a case Scotland might legally resist, and that the persons attempting to execute such orders might be treated as wrongdoers? The case is parallel, except that in Hungary it was expressly provided that, should such a freak be perpetrated, the people were entitled to resist by armed force.

fighting in the name of their king against a person, without any right, invading them.

Kossuth upon this published an address to the nation, calling upon them to take up arms in defence of their country and their inherited rights. Legions of volunteers enrolled themselves, and the most active preparations were carried on. He went through different parts of the country encouraging and exhorting the people to unite in defence of the state. The greatest enthusiasm was shown everywhere at his arrival. Illuminations, cheers, honours almost royal, everywhere awaited him, and crowds of volunteers crowned his endeavours with success. Upon this an imperial manifesto was sent from Vienna. It was addressed to the military authorities, both of the regulars and militia; it ordered them to receive Count Lamberg, a German, as commander-in-chief, and to obey him in suppressing the dissensions existing in Hungary, and in bringing the Hungarians back to their former peaceful obedience to the emperor. "Desertum faciunt atque pacem vocant."

An extraordinary meeting of parliament was convened. The manifesto was declared illegal, because it had not passed through the recognised channels of the Hungarian ministry. Kossuth proposed a counter proclamation. It was unanimously adopted, and explained their position, and appealed to the army to refuse to obey Count Lamberg as illegally appointed, and called on the people to join in defending their country, unjustly invaded.

When the excitement was at the highest, unfortunately Count Lamberg was recognised at Pesth by an infuriated mob. The unfortunate general was dragged from his carriage, and murdered in their inhuman fury. The parliament addressed the emperor, expressing its horror of the deed, and resolved that justice should be done on the murderers. It was the first blood shed in the quarrel; and

dearly. has it been requited. The Archduke Stephen, who was invested with the dignity of the Palatine, immediately fled from Pesth. The emperor's representative having withdrawn, the ministry formed an executive committee for the defence of the country; Kossuth was elected president, and this body thenceforth became the executive government.

The Ban Jellachich advanced upon Hungary with his wild Croats, burned and ravaged the country, and committed unheard-of cruelties, sparing neither age nor sex. The national troops met them at Veleneze, and although but half their number, remained masters of the field after a hard day's fighting. On that occasion many of the Hungarian officers received offers previous to the engagement from the Ban, in the name of Austria, if they would desert their colours and join him. They replied that their cannon would convey their answer. It was on that occasion, too, officially stated, that Jellachich had ordered some of his regulars to fire on the Croats behind, to induce them to attack the Hungarians. The Croats who were taken prisoners declared they fought much against their will; their only object in joining had been plunder. They had no quarrel with the Hungarians, and their repugnance to fight was not owing to want of courage.

The Ban then requested an armistice of three days, which was granted him by General Moga, but he took advantage of it by retreating, abandoning his wounded. He tried to gain admittance to Comorn, and afterwards at Presburg. It was refused him at both places; thence he quickly continued his march and arrived at Vienna, and laid siege to that city, which was in the hands of the mob. He had been so confident of success, that he had ordered his letters to be directed *poste restante* at the capital of Hungary. About the same time Count

Eugene Zichy, was arrested under circumstances of suspicion, and having been nearly murdered by the mob, he was rescued from them by Görgey, then a major in command of the Island of Czespel in the Danube. He was by him tried, found guilty, and hanged as a traitor to his country, being found in correspondence with the enemy.

The divisions under General Roth and Philippovich of 10,000 Croats had been skilfully out-manœuvred by Perezel with only 4000 Magyars. He took them all prisoners, treated them with great humanity, and sent them home. Such was the conclusion of Jellachich's invasion. Hitherto the downfal of Austria seemed probable. After the beating of Jellachich, Kossuth had by indefatigable activity raised numerically a considerable army. It was composed of volunteers, equipped often at their own cost in the best manner they could. Many of the Hungarian regiments in the Austrian service had supplied them copiously with deserters. The regiment of hussars of Prince William left their quarters in Bohemia, and marched in a body to the help of their country. This can scarce be called military treason. It must be remembered that the government of Hungary was a legal government, and was illegally attacked. It was as though a body of Swiss mercenaries in the pay of a foreign prince should desert him, and march home to defend their country, if the prince they were serving had made war on it. The town of Szegedin sent no less than 14,000 recruits to the capital.

An imperial manifesto reached the Hungarian government abolishing the constitution, and appointing another ministry. Parliament met and declared it illegal: it had not passed through the necessary channels of the Hungarian offices to give it effect in that kingdom. It was in excess of any power vested in the king. This aggression produced retaliation. General Moga was ordered to march

on Vienna, and help the mob, who had just effected a revolution in October, and fight Jellachich wherever he could meet with him. Kossuth joined him. He had been received at Comorn with rejoicings and illuminations—more like a conqueror than a leader of doubtful success. He was supplied with 8000 recruits there. At Raab he was similarly received. He proceeded to Vienna, met Jellachich, and was beaten by him before reaching Vienna.

Kossuth, though an excellent agitator, was no soldier. He seems to have indulged in the hallucination, that popular enthusiasm is a substitute for powder and shot—that he had only to approach the Austrian battalions, or the Croats, or any other enemy, and that the moral influence of his raw recruits would overawe his opponents, though weatherbeaten soldiers. He must have been considerably disappointed at the result. It is seldom that popular theorists have such an opportunity of putting to the test the truth of their crude imaginings. The recruits were scarcely capable of going through their exercise on a parade ground; and when they met with an enemy, disciplined, resolute, and strongly posted, the new levies at once took to flight, and threw into confusion the regular troops. So rapid was it that Görgey did not overtake some till he had ridden thirty miles from the field of battle; and so universal, that he says they all ran away but one man, who was an old soldier and an invalid—perhaps he was lame. They then accused their leaders of treachery in leading them where there was an enemy.

Had Jellachich been in that mind, he could easily have massacred them all. Indeed, through the whole campaign, the want of discipline and subordination in the Hungarian troops and leaders was painfully apparent; and the Committee of Defence appear to have been very impracticable persons, and by no means provident in mil-

itary matters, of which they were supremely ignorant. Upon his defeat, Kossuth returned to Pesth. The final breach between the Emperor and Hungary had taken place. For him to remain King of Hungary was impossible, unless he could hold the country as a conqueror: for this purpose a simultaneous attack was made at different points. Windischgrätz, the commander-in-chief, began by attacking the villages of Carlsdorf and Neudorf. Four field-marshals, Simunich, Schlick, Puchner, and Nugent, marched on Tyrnau, Eperies, Arad, and Lower Hungary: Suplikacs, the Voivode of Austrian Servia, had occupied the country near the confluence of the Danube and the Theiss. Görgey, who had obtained a higher command, had not sufficient forces to venture to attack, and gradually retired eastward to the river Theiss, the line of which river he intended to defend, carrying with him or destroying all provisions, fodder, &c.

The emperor at this time, December 2, 1848, abdicated the throne, and his nephew, Francis-Joseph, the present emperor, reigned in his stead. The Hungarians refused to sanction his election, without which he could lawfully exercise no authority in their country. They protested against his usurping the title of King of Hungary; the throne was therefore vacant, and Kossuth was practically the head of the executive.

The army of Hungary, though nominally 100,000 strong, could not bring into the field more than 55,000 to meet the Austrians. The rest had been occupied in keeping order in Servia and the other Sclave provinces. They were obliged, therefore, gradually to retire, which they did in good order. Görgey conducted his celebrated retreat, through the mountains on the north of Hungary, with the greatest strategic skill, upon Debreczin, behind the river Theiss. Prince Windischgrätz for some reason did not choose to run the risk of crossing that river in the

presence of the enemy. At this time a rapid attack might have finished the war at a blow. And probably being ignorant of the value of paper currency, he did not invalidate that of the Hungarian government; by which he not only recognised their money, but acknowledged them. Kossuth, better understanding the value of such a currency in such an emergency, had gradually withdrawn nearly the whole of the specie from circulation, and had issued a paper currency in its place. This course gave him the advantage of specie for the campaign, without interfering in any way with commercial transactions, for his paper money was in all of them received as a perfect substitute. This gave him great resources for continuing the war: when the fighting recommenced, he was better prepared to meet it, and brought into the field a better equipped and greater force than the Austrians could match.

Perezel turned the position of Ottenger. Görgey, who had in the meantime disciplined his troops sufficiently to face an enemy, marched to Waitzen and there fell upon the rear of the Austrians. Schlick was beaten by Klapka near Tokay, and Guyon beat a division of Schlick's corps at Branisko, and then they and Görgey effected a junction of forces amounting to 50,000, and 150 pieces of cannon, and then marched on Pesth. Windischgrätz, to prevent them, fought a pitched battle at Kapolna, which, after lasting four days, ended in the Hungarians, under the command-in-chief of Dembinski, falling back in good order behind the Theiss. Differences arose, however, between the two leaders, Görgey, and Dembinski who had been appointed commander-in-chief by the Provisional Government, which resulted in General Vetter being appointed to the chief command. He was, however, unable to take it, and Görgey was appointed both war minister and deputy-

commander-in-chief, and was the actual commander of the ensuing campaign. The appointment of Dembinski was a great mistake: the evil it had done was irreparable.

It is natural that there should exist a jealousy between agitators and the military chiefs who are under them, especially if successful; for, after all, the power of the soldier is more indisputable than that of the majority: the bayonet is more decisive than acclamations. Jealousy of Görgey had induced them to summon Dembinski, an old hero of the Polish Revolution of 1830, to take the command, and to remodel the constitution of the army; but eighteen years of rest had rusted his sword and incapacitated him. Görgey won more battles than any other of the leaders; and although he was, clearly, from his own account, somewhat insubordinate and hot-tempered, it is also clear that the first necessity was to drive the enemy out of the country. The intrigues of the Provisional Government were dictated probably more by personal ambition than patriotism. The best policy would have been to have nominated Görgey military dictator, and given him the unchecked conduct of the campaign at the beginning: as it was, he had practically the chief command, and conquered, but was interfered with, and was in consequence eventually beaten. After all, the winning of battles was at that moment the most important requisite for Hungary. The first order of Dembinski was to counter-order a well-laid plan of Görgey's, which would have probably inflicted a severe blow on Austria.

Had Windischgrätz fallen on the Hungarians as they were crossing the Theiss, he had another opportunity of ending the war: he did nothing of the kind. The Hungarians laid siege to Arad: Klapka, with 20,000 men and 50 more guns, joined Görgey. Together they began to advance. Schlick had been driven back to Slatwen, where Wind-

ischgrätz had sent another division to support him; and Jellachich had been ordered to concentrate his forces. A council of war was held at Aszod. Five months had passed, and Hungary was more active than ever. The cabinet became alarmed: Windischgrätz was superseded by General De Welden, with reinforcements commanded by General Wohlgemuth, who had just returned from Italy. At this juncture Görgey commenced a series of brilliant actions, which drove the enemy out of Hungary. General Wohlgemuth was beaten: With astonishing quickness Görgey moved his army, and raised the blockade of Comorn. He reinforced its garrison, opened communications between the several divisions of the Hungarian army, and published a proclamation to the troops recounting their exploits, and encouraging their zeal against Austrian tyranny. General Guyon (an Irishman settled in Hungary) beat the enemy in another direction. General De Welden was obliged to evacuate Pesth, leaving but three battalions in the fortress of Ofen. Jellachich attempted to cover his retreat; but Görgey with his whole division rapidly crossed the river Danube, and on the right bank fell on the corps of General Simunich. This manœuvre would have produced the utter defeat of the Austrian army, had it not been skilfully met by General Schlick, who succeeded in bringing it off, though it retreated in disorder.

In this campaign the Austrians had committed the blunder of scattering their forces over a larger extent of country than was prudent, by which means a more compact body, by forming the centre, could separately beat them in detail. It was their old fault: Napoleon beat them in the same manner: it requires no military knowledge to understand it. It is very easy for a man with a hundred thousand men at his command, if they be scattered up and down a country forty or fifty miles long, to be beaten by a fourth

of that number well kept in hand and acting together, for they can fall like a thunderbolt on any part of his line, where he perhaps cannot get ten thousand men together to oppose them; and they may repeat the performance as many times as they choose. Upon this action, the Austrians were driven out of Hungary by the way Windischgrätz entered it. So ended the campaign. Things looked gloomy enough for Austria. The Hungarians, animated by success, had at their disposal a force of 190,000 men, and 800 pieces of cannon. This was more than Austria alone could match, especially under the command of the skilful generals who were at the head of them.

The Emperor had lost Hungary by his own and his predecessor's folly: he was not himself strong enough to conquer it. He was by the Parliament formally declared to have no title to the kingdom, which they afterwards proclaimed an independent republic, under the presidency of Kossuth. This was a great mistake: it gave Russia a pretext to interfere. Hungary was never republican. This caused a serious misunderstanding among the Hungarian leaders. It was a course the less justifiable inasmuch as it was carried by a house of commons not containing a quorum of members, under the dictation of a profligate rabble in the streets. And the same authorities passed a law in addition setting free the peasants' land from rent-service—a course which was simple swindling; and was followed by an insurrection of the Rouman peasantry against their landlords, the murder of many of them, and the pillage of their estates and houses. To this unfortunate source is to be traced the origin of the ill success of the cause. When men cease to be honest, they cease to deserve success; and even demagogues and emperors will in the long-run discover that honesty is the best policy. Hungary would have been in a better position as regards its legal rights, had they proceeded to

elect a king. The right to proclaim a republic might be liable to question. With a king, everything would have fallen into its recognised place: with a republic, there was no recognised place for anything. But there was no general wish in Hungary to change the Austrian dynasty —all that they wished was to be governed constitutionally by it. Austria was apparently in great perplexity. Her account was by no means settled in Italy: Charles-Albert might recommence hostilities. The Croat and Sclave populations were dissatisfied with the use that had been made of them. They had scarcely understood the quarrel, and had been deceived by the emperor and the court. Venice continued to resist. With all these storms in prospect, Austria had shipwreck immediately before her.

On previous occasions, in moments of danger, Austria as we have seen could rely on the affections of her provinces. She had now alienated the whole of them, and could only depend on the hereditary German dominions of the dukes of Austria. All she could bring into the field was an army of 40,000 men. She had usually an army of 800,000. She was wearied and distressed by a disastrous winter campaign; and the enemy, who had beaten them, was daily expected at Vienna. It was not Kossuth's fault they did not march thither. He ordered Görgey to do so, but he, in consequence of not having the requisite ammunition forwarded to him, owing to the stupidity of some of the central authorities, was not in a position to obey.

He appears to have doubted also Kossuth's right to invade Austria, and to have considered that the Emperor Ferdinand was still King of Hungary in law. The best troops, the regular ones, were decidedly royalist, and his proclamation at Comorn was intended to allay their irritation at the declaration of a republic. At least he says so.

Görgey, however, says that he had no such orders from Kossuth, who required him to take Ofen, and whose fault he says it was that it was able to hold out so long, owing to his misrepresenting its strength. He therefore besieged it: this occupied eighteen days, and gave Austria breathing-time. Had it been otherwise, it is not improbable that she would have been utterly submerged. The Emperor of Russia, who had been hitherto a spectator, now interfered. Sympathy with absolute government induced him to do so; possibly, too, he feared an outbreak in Poland. That he had a right to do as he did is clear. The Hungarians had refused to accept the young Emperor of Austria as their king till he was duly elected and took the oath. They had a perfect right to do this; but in so doing they made themselves a separate nation. If it be a principle that no nation has a right to interfere in regulating the internal affairs of another, this was then no breach of that rule. The respective rights of the two parties were as two independent nations, and however unjust might be the cause of one, and however just the cause of the other, the Emperor of Russia can be in no way accused of violating the laws of nations in assisting whichever he pleased—because it is laid down, and cannot be disputed, that a foreign sovereign has a right to help his ally against his enemies, and a sovereign at war must always be held by the laws of war to be waging a just war. This rule has been fixed by the greater evils that would flow from the reverse, for who is to be a judge? The Czar, therefore, cannot be accused justly of any violation of the laws of nations, however unjust may have been the course he adopted.

In January 1849, Bem with some 6000 men had entered Transylvania from Hungary. His object was to gain possession of Clausenburg, the capital of the Magyar

of the Szeckler districts of the country. Instead of going directly on the main army quartered there, he marched on, attacked and defeated the reserve by a cross country march, paralyzing the main Austrian force under General Wardener. He thus became master of the city the general had hoped to defend, drove General Urban and his force northwards into the Bulkovina, and reduced the whole of the north of Transylvania into his power, where he found considerable resources for the prolonging of the war. Having recruited and refitted, he marched on with the prestige of victory till he met and defeated the Austrian army of the south. His next move was on Hermanstadt, the head-quarters of General Puchner, who, however, defeated him, and forced him to retreat at Salzburg, losing a considerable part of his artillery and baggage. He took the road towards Hungary, intending to wait for reinforcements, of which he was in great need. The Austrians looked on his eventual surrender as certain, but were too slow to make it so. Having retreated to the marches of Hungary, he was joined by reinforcements, and fought a two days' action; on the latter of which he defeated the Austrians, who lost nearly 2000 killed and wounded. Bem then, either by choice or necessity, took up a strong position at Schäsburg; indeed so strong that Puchner dared not attack him in front, but ventured on the disastrous course of trying to get round him by cross country roads. Hitherto the ground had been hard from frost, but by this time the spring had begun, and the roads, none of the best in summer, were now rendered almost impassable by the melting of the snow. Twelve oxen could scarcely move a gun. As soon as Bem learned that he had left the high road, he saw that when he was entangled in the cross roads Hermanstadt lay open to him. He gave him full time to get fairly into the mess,

left a couple of battalions to mask his march, and fell on Hermanstadt with his whole force; thus taking the chord while the Austrians took the arc of the circle. He drove the Russians out of the town and through the pass of the Red Tower into Wallachia. Puchner, on his return, found the town in Bem's possession, and being disappointed in some succours he had reckoned on from Gallicia, he was forced to follow the Russians; thus the country was cleared of the Austrians, and the whole of it reduced under the power of the Hungarian government—a campaign brilliant, brief, and decisive, and placing Bem amongst the greatest generals of the age. He subsequently endeavoured to repeat the same operations in the final Russian campaign, but was outnumbered and beaten by the Russian general Lüders. Bem had formerly served in the same regiment with him. "Nous allons voir," said he, "ce que c'est ce petit Lüders." Lüders' army was, however, more than a match for him, and drove him out of Crönstadt. The Russians marched on Hermanstadt, where the Hungarians laid down their arms. Bem got together the remains of his army—20,000 men and fourteen guns. He attacked the Russian general, Hasford, and beat him, but Lüders reappeared the following day and overpowered him. The Russian division then joined the rest of the army and assisted in overpowering the Hungarians under Görgey. Bem, however, succeeded in joining the national forces.

In the meantime, Görgey had stormed Ofen, the fortress of Pesth. The fortress had out of spite bombarded the town and killed many of the inhabitants—a breach of the laws of warfare. In revenge, the garrison are said to have been massacred (or at any rate Görgey gave orders to this effect), except an Italian regiment who assisted the Magyars to scale the walls. The assailants would have

murdered the wounded, half-dead commander, Hentzi, if Görgey had not saved him himself.

On the reduction of the fortress, the army under Görgey was free to march on against Presburg, but it was too late: the Russians had arrived with sixteen battalions, accompanied by forty-eight guns. The Czar himself was on the frontier. Haynau had succeeded the Austrian general De Welden. Prince Paskiewitch was commander-in-chief of the Russian armies.

The policy of Russia (independent of its justice) was sufficiently humane; it was to extinguish the war, shedding as little blood as possible, by bringing to bear such overwhelming forces that there could be no practicable resistance. The policy of Haynau and Jellachich, however, was exactly the reverse; namely, to wipe out the disgrace which the Austrian arms had suffered in the previous campaign. Such a combination of force it was impossible to resist. Several actions were fought with varying success; but eventually, after a pitched battle between Perel and Peaky, Görgey was forced to retire. He wished to occupy the almost impregnable fortress of Comorn with all the Hungarian army, and from it to inflict a blow upon the Austrians whenever they gave him an opportunity; but his advice was overruled by Kossuth, who appears to have wished a clear ground behind to escape by in case of necessity. He effected his retreat in good order across the river Waag. In the north, Dembinski with 20,000 men was driven back by the overwhelming force of Russians opposed to him, without fighting. The fortress of Arad was, however, taken by him, and Jellachich was worsted by the Hungarians. Klapka was driven from Raab by Francis Joseph in person, and threw himself into Comorn. Görgey was forced back to Waitzen, and after a bloody skirmish was forced still

backwards. The Russian commander-in-chief manœuvred in such a manner as to oblige the enemy to retreat in different directions, and prevent their joining, so as to be able to deal with them separately with an overpowering force. Görgey retired on Tokay, Perczel on Sznolnock, and Dembinski on Szegedin. The hussars were at last beaten. The Hungarians began to lose confidence in themselves. The Russian general was in a central position and could deal his blows on either side. He forced the passage of the Theiss in the face of the enemy and drove them back, and Görgey was enveloped in an overwhelming mass of Russians. Haynau in the meantime kept advancing in the south, and also crossed the Theiss in the face of the enemy, who, fighting desperately, retreated reluctantly.

After making a stand on the banks which had been thrown up to prevent the country being flooded by the inundations of the Theiss, they were overpowered by a united body of Austrians and Russians, in overwhelming numbers, and retreated in such haste as to leave both prisoners and guns behind them, to Temeswar. Before that town they made a stand, having received a small reinforcement. They took up a position behind a small stream, and were joined by Bem, who had been driven by General Lüders out of Transylvania. He at once proceeded to where the fighting was going on, and took the command; but the utmost gallantry was in vain opposed to the superior force which had been brought against him. He, however, put the right wing of the Austrians in considerable danger, but he was eventually forced back. Prince Liechtenstein came upon the right of the Hungarians with his Austrians, while General Lüders came up from Transylvania. Temeswar had been abandoned, and the national army was divided, and marching in different

directions,—Görgey marching to the fortress of Arad in hopes of shelter. Bem and Dembinski hurried towards the Turkish frontier in hopes of saving the wreck of their armies.

The war seemed almost at an end, when Klapka, who still held Comorn with 30,000 men, and was there besieged on both sides of the Danube, took advantage of the possession of a bridge across the river Waag; made a tremendous sally; defeated his opponents; chased them with 8000 men, eight squadrons of horse, and twenty-four guns, and did them great damage by assailing their flanks. He then drove them across the river, and pursued them to Raab, which he took with thirty guns,—getting possession of much ammunition and provision. These brilliant feats sustained the cause only for a short time. The civil government had been driven from Pesth to Szegedin, and thence to Arad, and had thus lost its central position and prompt intelligence. It had been forced to leave the press for printing the notes behind, and could not print the paper money as quickly as it was wanted. Some misunderstanding arose between Görgey and Kossuth, and the General refused to obey orders. It was the wish of the latter to make use of the fortress of Arad as the central point for government and future military operations. It is possible that, if his advice had been followed, the war might have been protracted, especially as the courage of the Hungarians had been reanimated by the successes of Klapka at Comorn and Raab, and terms might have been made with the conqueror. The differences between Görgey and Kossuth ended in the former being nominated dictator by the latter, who then left the country. He hoped to make, at any rate, a united government in such a juncture. Görgey accepted the dictatorship, and without any conditions laid down his arms to the Rus-

sians, surrendering with 30,000 men, 144 guns, and 8000 horses.

He then summoned the other generals to surrender. They did so, except Bem, Guyon, and Klapka; but the soldiers of the two former refused to fight, and the generals escaped into Turkey, where Bem died of a fever. Klapka, who held Comorn, was offered advantageous terms, on which he capitulated; and so they made an end of the war.

If Görgey made any private conditions in favour of his followers, either they were very unimportant, or unobserved; for Haynau shortly after appeared, executing, imprisoning, and committing all manner of cruelties.

Those who escaped into Turkey were demanded of the Sultan by the two Christian emperors. To the honour of the Mussulman be it recorded, that he indignantly refused to give them up. It is little to the credit of the Christians that they had to be taught such a lesson of charity by the infidels.

It is said that Görgey was bribed by the Austrians to betray his country. It is a matter in dispute, even in Hungary. That there exist those who venerate Kossuth, and hold Görgey as a traitor, cannot be doubted; but it is equally true that there exists another party who regard Görgey as a gallant soldier and an honest man, who, finding that he could make no effectual resistance, and that he was about to be overwhelmed by an overpowering force; supposing that he was dealing with a civilized people, imagined that the more unconditionally he surrendered, the more generously his followers would be treated; and knowing that, by the laws of nations, they could in no case be treated otherwise than as prisoners of war. These motives might have actuated him. At the same time, if they did, he ought to have known that no trust is to be placed in those who violate treaties. Their

pledge is even no security. That he might have made terms, there is some doubt. That those terms would have restrained the paltry revenge of the Austrian government, is improbable, as their actual conduct has been just as gross a violation of the law of nations as if they had broken express terms of capitulation. But no proof of his guilt has been adduced. His own writings show him to have been hot-headed and insubordinate. Appearances may have been against him; but he has still a claim to the benefit of the doubt.

If the charge against him were true, he would be not likely to mention it himself; and if Austria were to divulge it, perhaps on such a point, unless supported by evidence, she would be unworthy of belief. It is palpably her interest to blacken with his countrymen the character of a man who proved himself so able a commander, so inconvenient an opponent. The case against him is not proved. It is, however, possible that he was misled by the differences between him and Kossuth; although it is fair to say that the latter is by some of his countrymen held a vain boaster, though a successful agitator.

Such was the struggle in Hungary. That either party acted throughout with perfect prudence and moderation, cannot be supposed. Men actuated by violent passion seldom do, even though that passion be the love of country. It was a mistake on the part of the Magyars forcing the use of their own tongue on a great portion of the people who were ignorant of it. It neutralized the effect of the measure for admitting the Sclaves and Roumans to a share of the representation. This, combined with the deprivation of the separate kingdom of Croatia of certain rights, undoubtedly stirred up against Hungary the Croatian rebellion. It would have been better policy to have followed the Christian maxim of doing as they

would be done by. In this instance it is not improbable it might have preserved Hungary.

The proclamation of a republic was another mistake: it naturally produced jealousies and heartburnings among the leaders at a time when union was essential for mutual safety. The spirit of the country was monarchical and aristocratic, not republican. A republic, although frequently the aim of democratic convulsions, appears to be unfitted, except in a few peculiar cases, to the wants of the present age. Practically, it has seldom existed long. But it was not the aim of Hungary at the beginning of the struggle: that struggle was for recognised constitutional rights; and at any part of it the young emperor would have been gladly acknowledged if he had agreed to accept the crown under the legal obligations to which it was liable.

The desires of Hungary were very different from the visionary theories which set a great part of Europe in a simultaneous blaze. However just the cause, nevertheless it is seldom that real freedom is secured by civil strife. But the conduct of Austria in provoking war by breach of faith and violation of treaties, is deserving of grave reprehension. "The power of resistance is what the people should as seldom as possible remember, but what the government should never forget."

On the consequences of the submission of Hungary one would fain be silent. The butcheries then perpetrated are a disgrace to humanity. In spite of the fashionable cant of the day, have mankind progressed? They can be as cruel as savages,—as faithless as Carthage. Progress!—it was wisdom formerly. "Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos." Not able herself to conquer the freemen of Hungary, Austria called in to assist her the great potentate of the north. He conquered for her, he

bound her victims hand and foot, and then handed over to the butcher the noblest and bravest of the land. Haynau's name may, perhaps, have met with undeserved obloquy: the soulless axe is not answerable for the stroke of the headsman. By his hands the scaffold of Arad reeked with the blood of patriots, shed in defiance of the laws of nations, and in some instances of express capitulation. Much stress need not be laid upon the difference: those who break the one seldom respect the other.

The legal rights of the parties are universally defined and acknowledged. A prisoner of war is sacred. That they were prisoners of war, and not rebels, has been previously demonstrated. At the conclusion of the war they ought at once to have been released, and allowed to return home. The only exception allowed is in the way of reprisals. The only defence made in these cases is, that these were reprisals for the murder of Latour and Lamberg. In the first occurrence, the Hungarians had no hand,—it was the Vienna mob who did that murder. Therefore, to make reprisals for that was out of the question. The murder of Count Lamberg stands on different ground. It was a Hungarian mob undoubtedly who did it, but was Hungary responsible for it? It would be as reasonable to hold the Queen of this country responsible because a few of Barclay and Perkins' draymen chose to pelt Haynau in the streets of London. A mob is a mob in all countries and ages. There never was any proof of complicity between the Hungarian government and the murdering mob. The plea fails therefore completely. The execution of Count Zichy is no example: he was found in treasonable correspondence with the enemy,—a crime which was punished legally with death. He was a Hungarian, and a traitor to his country.

To expostulate with Austria or the archduchess who

guided its councils, in the name of outraged humanity, would be vain; but even tyrants do not in the long-run violate the acknowledged laws of civilized states with impunity. The brutal butcheries of James the Second (if to call such brutal be not a slander on brutes) resulted in his race being hurled from the throne.

Even Domitian found his reward after those

> "Tempora sævitiæ, claras quibus abstulit urbe
> Illustresque animas impune et vindice nullo,
> Sed periit postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
> Cœperat: hoc nocuit, Lamiarum cæde madenti."

And Philip of Spain, in shedding the blood of Egmont and Horn, broke the fetters of Holland. There was a sound of mourning through the land. Hungary wept "for her children, and would not be comforted, because they were not."

The generals who fell into the Austrian hands were hanged, thirteen in number, their crime allegiance to their country. Count Louis Batthyani was condemned to the same felon death for the same crime. He had been first minister of the crown in Hungary.

The open towns were given up to plunder; savage Croats were turned loose on the defenceless inhabitants; the scenes enacted can scarce be conceived by those who have not witnessed such things. Nothing was too high, too low, too illustrious, or too obscure, too sacred, or too profane, to escape Austria's persecuting malignity. Generals were hanged; an ecclesiastic was executed in his robes at the gate of his own church. Even an unfortunate tailor, who was convicted of having committed the iniquity of making a Hungarian banner, fell a victim to their microscopic espionage. What has Austria gained? Hatred at home—impotence and contempt abroad. The blood of the Hungarian freemen has not been shed

in vain; sinking into the reeking earth, it will nourish the plant of freedom indigenous to the soil, which, springing again to life and vigour, watered by the tears of a mourning country, will bear fruit hereafter, and its shoots shall be twisted into a bed of thorns for their murderers. As men sow, so they must reap. Even in this world, treachery and crime meet with their reward.

THE

EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1848.

THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

It is the land that freemen till,—
That sober-suited Freedom chose;
The land where, girt by friends or foes,
A man may speak the thing he will.

A land of settled government,—
A land of just and old renown,
Where freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent.

TENNYSON.

"Steady prices are impossible, because, without a check on excess, it is the interest of the issuers of paper to push their profits to the utmost verge, and to increase the circulation till the exchanges actually turn; when the Bank of England, in self-defence, contracts its currency, and ultimately forces a contraction of the country paper also, then commences a rapid and ruinous fall of price, succeeded in turn by a recurring rise. The country is thus exposed to perpetual oscillation—between hollow prosperity and real calamity—whereby uncertainty is introduced into the value of all property, and a spirit of gambling and of fraudulent speculation into the ordinary transactions of domestic life."—*Sir James Graham.*

CHAPTER I.

SKETCH OF THE FINANCIAL LEGISLATION OF ENGLAND SINCE THE PEACE OF 1815, AND ITS BEARING ON CONTINENTAL AND DOMESTIC TROUBLES.

THE continental monarchs are in the habit of looking on England as the first mover in all insurrections and revolutions,—as a refuge for all the runaway subjects, and a hotbed of all manner of conspiracy and sedition. They

usually seem to forget that we are in the habit of receiving monarchs who run away from their people quite as cordially as people who run away from their monarchs; and that by the same process of reason that they arrive at the one result, their people might arrive at precisely the opposite one, and denounce us as the protectors and supporters of all tyrants, monarchs, and autocrats. Neither one nor the other find it convenient to remember that the natives of this country take very little practical interest in foreign politics, and that the only persons who take the trouble to conspire here against the tranquillity of foreign states, are the very persons whom the same foreign states could never prevent conspiring when they were at home.

The characteristics of the English wholly unfit them for conspiracies and revolutions. Liberty of speech is so innate in them, that if any agitator is mad enough to dream of revolution, he is sure to let everybody know what he intends; and the loud denunciations of foreign oppressions that are occasionally heard, are the surest proofs that there exist among us no secret conspiracies for the purpose of overturning them. The want of excitability of the English wholly unfits them for domestic revolution. When they desire change, it is effected by meeting and agitation; but none save the wildest dreamers ever imagine the possibility of gaining anything by force. Everybody feels that to law and order he is indebted for the security of person and property which he enjoys; hence the universal respect for established institutions, which, if any disturbance is threatened, enlists more on the side of the authorities than can be assembled against them. It is partly owing to these characteristics and a strong sense of duty that there is never any wavering on the part of troops, when called on, to act against riot, which might, if unchecked, spread into insurrection. But there is another and most important cause for this. The officers of

the army belong to a different class from the men. As a body, they are most of them gentry; and even those who are not are usually persons of property, who belong to a class conservative at least of that property, and who, besides, take their tone from the majority of their companions. The consequence of this is, that they are much more looked up to and beloved by the men under their command, and are much more considerate of them, their feelings and failings, than are officers of their own class, who have usually been found harsh and unpopular. Thus not only is their influence over the troops greater, but their sympathy with the mob is less.*

The English soil does not appear suited to the growth of chimeras. We care little or nothing about paper constitutions, hazy speculations, and political crotchets. Contented with freedom, we do not care about democracy. The bulk of the English are very indifferent to politics. Political questions never trouble them except perhaps once in a quarter of a century, when one of the statesmen or the set of statesmen who govern has made some blunder so horrible as to involve the whole population in practical discomfort. Otherwise, political agitation languishes. There is little difference of principle between opposite sides, except that, as a general rule, those who profess liberalism seem rather more obstructive to any real reform than their opponents, as every one who has had the trouble to seek redress for any grievance knows to his cost.

The right of private judgment in religion and politics,

* It is not intended to make out a case against occasional promotions from the ranks; but it is intended to point out that such a system applied universally would not be without its inconveniences. Such promotions should be the exception, not the rule; and when they occur, should be accompanied by some such additional grant or pension for previous service, as should enable a soldier to meet on terms of equality the class among which he is thrown, and to educate his children in the class to which he has risen.

—the right of individual action and material welfare,—are what we chiefly value as the results of a free government. Security to person and property is what we want. It was the desire for the right of private judgment that produced our early struggles with, and admitted of our eventual separation from, Rome. It was the desire of judging for ourselves in practical matters that gradually showed itself in the House of Commons under Elizabeth; for in her reign commerce began to develop itself rapidly, owing to the influx of gold from the American mines, and the commercial privileges extorted from previous monarchs.

The Civil War was excited by interference with these desires. The dictation in religion exasperated the Scotch and the Puritans; while the illegal imposition of ship-money excited the wrath of the remainder. It was a war against practical grievances, and not for political theories. If the king could have been trusted in his promises to remedy these, the rebellion would have died out. The Second Charles was frivolous, dissipated, and expensive; of him his subjects bought privileges of trade, while he squandered the money. James, equally profligate, worse tempered, and more bigoted, tried to dictate religious dogmas and to retract commercial privileges. The Bible and the purse beat James, as they had beaten his father; while the political delinquencies of his brother were not looked on by any means so harshly as might have been expected. Under the succeeding reigns, while the Bible and the purse were safe, the mass of the people were politically indifferent, except when threatened with the Pretender, which meant priest and pope. Even the support he met with is a proof of great political tolerance in this country.

It was the interference of parliament with the local concerns of the North American colonies, and the attempt to impose taxes on them without their consent, that pro-

duced their rebellion under George the Third. And towards the end of his reign it was the commercial distress which followed the conclusion of the war that produced the desire for political changes, and converted the shouts of the mob from "Church and King" to riotous disaffection; not because of any speculative political theory, but because the people were wretched, and thought that their government was in fault; and so it was.

It will be remembered that in treating of the French revolution of 1848, it was stated that the financial crisis of 1847 in England had mainly contributed to the discontent which resulted in that outbreak. For of the commerce and finance of the world, London has become the nucleus and the centre. Whatever deranges the trade of England, and produces embarrassment and distress, affects not her alone, but acts on every industrial occupation under the sun, and hazards the tranquillity of every state from India to the United States. Hence the importance of the subject in an account of the general politics of Europe.

As a preliminary, it may perhaps be well to state one or two laws which govern the operations of commerce. In early periods of history, the produce of one man's labour was bartered for that of another without the intervention of money. Barter is trade carried on by capital without a medium of exchange; a slow, cumbrous system, and obviously so inconvenient, that something, the value of which was stamped by the ruling power, came to be adopted as a common measure. This was the thing we call money. For centuries a mixed system of barter and money prevailed; in later times, and in more civilized countries, the law has prescribed that all payments should be made in the legal money of the state. Barter having thus been virtually proscribed by law, money, or a medium of exchange, became as necessary to commercial interchange as air is to animal existence. Trade then is not directly carried on by capital,

but by a medium of exchange. The precious metals had come to perform this office in Europe but imperfectly before the discovery of the American mines. Providence works out its great designs often by unholy instruments. As proximately we owe the Reformation to the sensual passion of a vicious king; so the debasement of the coin by various sovereigns, perhaps for their own selfish ends, multiplied the tokens through which the increased amount of commodities (produced by an increasing population) could be interchanged. The revival of learning, with its natural results on the enterprise of man, seemed to call for an increased supply of those metals by which the world had agreed to measure labour and its fruit. Providence gave its beneficent answer to that demand by permitting the discovery of the American mines, from which great material progress gradually ensued.

About the beginning of the eighteenth century, the precious metals appear to have become again inadequate to the wants of commerce, if we may judge from the fact of the Bank of England beginning to issue its notes about that time.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, the wants of commerce called into action the country bank issues; but as all issues of paper money were based on, and convertible into gold or silver, whenever gold and silver were exported, trade and agriculture suffered. Since, however, the bank notes were payable in the then existing coin, and not in a given weight of it, and the coin—especially the silver—was constantly lessened in weight by friction and wear, the inducement to carry it abroad was lessened; because the current value of the coin here was more than its intrinsic value elsewhere; here it was worth more as current coin than it was abroad as old silver. The interests of industry were thus inadvertently maintained at the expense of a rigorous ex-

actness in the value of the national coin; and thus fewer commercial embarrassments occurred during this period than would otherwise have done.

The restriction of cash payments in 1797 was a matter of both state and commercial necessity. The demand for the precious metals for the purposes of war had drained the coffers of the Bank of England. If the issues of the bank had depended on convertibility, when the gold and silver were gone, the notes would have gone too. Barter, cumbrous and inconvenient when transactions were few, was impossible when they were many, even if it were legal. Trade would have been brought to a stand, as well as agriculture, handicrafts, and manufactures. There was no choice in the matter, if the commerce of the country were not to undergo strangulation. The commercial effect of the restriction of cash payments was to afford during the war a certainty of a supply of a medium of exchange; hence none of those panics in the money-market, which have since been so ruinous to commerce, and so discreditable to the legislature to whose legislation they are due. The notes of the Bank of England retained a value, because they were receivable in taxes; and as most people had taxes to pay, they were always glad to get them for that purpose. The government could with them buy gold and munitions of war, and received them back as taxes; and though the paper, when they got it, was of no value to them, it had previously furnished them with what they required. But the bank-note had come to be the medium of exchange or money, and the pound ceased to represent a given quantity of bullion. During a considerable part of the war, the one-pound bank-note was not nearly worth twenty shillings: it was worth in bullion only about fifteen shillings; for gold, being in great demand, had risen in price, compared with the note,—or, in other words, the note was depreciated. In these paper

pounds, worth about fifteen shillings each, measured in gold or goods, the debt was contracted; and that at sixty for the hundred;—an arrangement which, for £332,000,000 worth of bullion advanced by the national creditor, has given him interest on £800,000,000 of bullion, ever since the return to cash payments; and though the faith of Parliament was pledged to him to return to cash payments after the peace, yet it was also, by a distinct resolution, pledged to the country that the pound was not depreciated,—a pledge which the faith of Parliament has made no scruple in breaking. The taxes, too, which were easily paid with pounds worth only fifteen shillings, became grievously burdensome when the pound became twenty shillings; while all the private debts contracted during this period were increased in like manner by this arrangement, the creditor got considerably more than he had lent, and the debtor had to pay considerably more than he borrowed. To increase by law the value of the pound, was to take from the poor to give to the rich;—to take from the industrious producer for the benefit of the capitalist consumer. It has, in fact, by law obliged us to pay a great part of our debts twice over.

It had been one of the conditions of the Bank Restriction Acts that a return should be made to cash payments within six months after the declaration of peace. Peace was declared in 1815. The bank at once began to prepare to resume the payments of its notes, when demanded, in the precious metals. A glance is enough to show how this operated. So much had commercial transactions multiplied during the war, that bills of exchange, as a substitute for bank-notes (as bank-notes had been for the metals) had greatly increased. Bankers' advances to customers, in reliance on a state of things of twenty years' duration, had greatly increased also. Both bills and advances had been payable in bank-notes,—now they were

to be legally payable in gold. At least £100,000,000 of these bills,—much more of book debts—some £30,000,000 Bank of England notes,—£20,000,000 of country bank-notes,—and all rents, rates, and taxes became payable in gold. The supply of bank-notes had been in our own power; trade was secure of them, and of a medium of exchange thereby. But gold (silver had ceased to be a legal tender, except for small sums), where was gold to be got? Its supply, even if it could be got, was fitful and uncertain. The Bank of England became the first liable to the law; gold must be had to pay their notes; how was the Bank to get it? There was only one way. By ruining trade, manufactures, and agriculture, gold would be sent from abroad to purchase the goods thus forced into the market at once; and this gold would find its way to the Bank. How was this ruin to be produced? Alas! it was easy. By contracting the period of discount, or limiting it altogether; in other words, by withdrawing their notes, and thus taking away the medium of exchange, the atmosphere of commercial life. As the notes decreased in quantity, commerce gasped, like the unfortunate sufferers in the Black Hole of Calcutta from want of air. The dread of being unable to get notes or gold wherewith to pay debt, increased; and to aggravate the horror, the richest merchants and bankers began to hoard notes with a view of meeting all possible contingencies. Panic increased; the medium of exchange must be had at any sacrifice of goods; terror, bankruptcies, forced sales, threw goods by hecatombs into the market. The ruin required by the Bank was thus easily produced. It threw down prices,—that was the object. The more prices fell, the greater the inducement for foreign gold to come in to buy them.

But the process to the unenlightened, unphilosophical statesmen of that day was too appalling to be persevered in.

Ruined manufacturers, merchants, traders, and farmers were disabled from employing labour. Riotous assemblages, Luddism, and disaffection among the working-classes prevailed. The government was staggered, and was weak enough for the sake of humanity to discontinue the philosophical experiment which they were so successfully conducting. They postponed the resumption of cash payments.

From this time, and from the wretchedness of it, began the craving for political change. Discontent and agitation were aggravated by a recurrence of monetary difficulty and consequent distress. One or two short postponements, which were not sufficient to stay the panic, then took place. In 1816, sixteen or eighteen millions of taxes were repealed, in spite of the government, by the House of Commons. In 1817, the time for resuming cash payments was again postponed, and for a period of two years. This gave breathing-time and restored confidence. People flattered themselves that government would not force on the resumption at such a fearful cost. The Bank became freer in its issues; and when Mr Vansittart, the chancellor of the exchequer, boasted in 1818 of prosperity, Mr Tierney taunted him with its being caused by a larger issue of notes, to which he called his attention. The speeches of the Regent in 1816 and 1817 complained of distress and disaffection; those of 1818 and 1819 rejoiced over prosperity and universal loyalty. The prices of the war had been restored by the same means that had produced them—namely, a sufficient medium of exchange. Forty-six millions of notes were circulating in the country, though the gold was leaving it. Of gold there was a very small supply. Political revolutions in South America had diminished it to a fifth of its previous amount; and a great part of the loans to the European governments, contracted for in London and Amsterdam, had to be exported

in gold—amounting to some thirty-eight millions. In August 1817, the treasure in the Bank was near twelve millions; in August 1819, it had fallen to near three millions; but as its place was partly occupied by notes, this did not produce any effect.

At this inauspicious moment, when the country expected, and the Bank of England strongly recommended, a further postponement (because, as they urged, the resumption of cash payments would ruin the country, though the Bank might be safe), the act of 1819 was passed. In fact, "by law we had depreciated the currency, and by a solemn resolution of the House of Commons denied the depreciation; by law we raised the value of money, and instead of avowing our purpose and preparing for its effect (by an arrangement of contracts), we mystified the intention, and were blind to the result."* Parliament passed the measure under the guidance of the late Sir Robert Peel, with the express understanding that no more than a four per cent. change in prices (or in the value of money) would be the result.

This was the now too celebrated "Peel's Bill," which, in conjunction with the act of 1816, rendered imperative the convertibility of the bank-note into gold only. The Bank began at once to fortify itself at the expense of agriculture and trade. The speech of the Regent at the close of the session again complained of seditious proceedings. The process has been previously described. It was accompanied by the usual riotous assemblages—disloyal speeches—associations for parliamentary reform,—and Thistlewood's Cato Street conspiracy to murder the whole of the ministers. Drilling went on in the hills of Yorkshire and Lancashire. Insurrection was begun in Scotland; and the massacre of Peterloo took place in arresting Mr Hunt in the midst of a meeting near Manchester. The lord-lieutenant of York-

* Sir J. Graham's "Corn and Currency."

shire was ignominiously expelled from his office for venturing to call a county meeting to protest. The gagging acts were passed; military force was used all over the country to suppress insurrection. The ringleaders were hanged. Thus did the bullionist policy produce its first crop of insurrections and executions.

The low prices of agricultural produce, and the ruin of farmers, yeomen, and landlords, spread the desire for parliamentary reform from the town into the country; for the change in the value of money had forced down prices in the teeth of protective duties amounting almost to monopoly. Lord Liverpool was mad or impious enough to attribute the universal distress to the over-productiveness of the soil. The fall in prices was near fifty instead of four per cent. The aggravation of debts and fixed charges was fifty per cent. The value of produce was halved. The amount of taxes and outgoings was increased by fifty per cent. Early in 1823, the government again relaxed the screw, still retaining, however, the gold standard of 1819. It was obvious to those who understood the question, that this relaxation could only lead to temporary prosperity, such as existed in 1824 and the early part of 1825. In 1825 came another crash; what happened in 1815 and 1816, and again in 1819, 1820, 1821, and 1822, happened again in 1825. Prices were tied down to the level of the standard; and when the level was exceeded, and the price of commodities was raised by an excess of notes, those commodities became unprofitable to export as compared with gold, which retained its fixed price. At this fixed price the Bank was obliged to furnish it to all comers, whatever price they had to give for it. The Bank was therefore drained of its gold, and was obliged by law, in order to save itself, to ruin the country. This it did. The panic of 1825 cannot be forgotten. Seventy banks stopped payment; and the Bank of Eng-

land would have been among them, had they not fortunately discovered a boxful of old one-pound notes, which the government authorized them to issue at the last gasp. The country was, on the testimony of Mr Huskisson, within twenty-four hours of barter. The issue of the notes gradually satisfied the public: a medium of exchange being secured, the panic ceased. On each of these occasions, the effect on the commerce and finance of foreign countries could not but be severe; on each of them a loss was sustained in this country of not less probably than two hundred millions, and much of it by those classes most connected with foreign trade.

The speeches from the throne during these years are a good barometer of distress and prosperity, and consequent sedition or loyalty. The trading and industrious classes had now in the course of ten years undergone this fiery ordeal on three several occasions. The moneyed interest, intent upon carrying out this policy, had convenient excuse for the ravages it perpetrated on each successive occasion. In 1815 and 1816 it was peace: as if peace were a curse instead of a blessing. In 1819–20 the fall of prices was caused by excessive production: as if want were likely to be caused by plenty. In 1825 it was the one-pound bank-notes: though, as it has been seen, it was the issue of these notes that saved the bank from stopping, and the country from universal bankruptcy. As a matter of prudence, the moneyed interest was quite right: for though the policy was disadvantageous to the rest of the community, it added fifty per cent. to their incomes, or took fifty per cent. from their expenses.

The commercial world had become if not wiser at least more cautious. A long period of depression followed, with three or four successive bad harvests. The temper of the public mind became gradually soured. The distress in Ireland led to agitation, and in England to Swing fires, gen-

eral uneasiness, and an increased power in the parliamentary opposition, which threatened the overthrow of the long-established Tory power. Lord John Russell in 1828 carried the Test and Corporation Acts; and in 1829 the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel succumbed to Mr O'Connell, and yielded the emancipation of the Latin Church.

But the wound was deeper. On the accession of William IV., the government was overthrown, and Lord Grey and the Whigs were called to office. They pronounced the talismanic word "Parliamentary Reform," and it spread like wild-fire through every nook and cranny of a country writhing in torture from some cause it could not understand. It hoped parliament might relieve it; the old sorts of parliament had not, and the country would have a new sort that might. Old differences were for the time forgotten. For once town and country spoke with one voice. In vain were doubts as to the appropriateness of the remedy. England was mad for change; and the revolution of the Reform-bill was carried, as William Cobbett had said it would be carried, as soon as he heard of the return to cash-payments. Physical misery stimulated men to political change; but it was a leap in the dark.

The change placed political power in the grasp of the urban constituencies: a class whose defalcations in wisdom, justice, patriotism, foresight, and honesty, in Greece, Rome, Carthage, and all states of modern and ancient history, are too numerous to be here recorded; and who have unfortunately, ever since obtaining the preponderance in England, been too much occupied in taking off taxes from themselves, and laying them on other people—in other words, in helping themselves out of their neighbours' pockets—to pay any attention to the real causes of the evil which has afflicted the state.

The deficient harvests of 1827, 1828, 1829, and 1830, had kept up a drain of gold, which was rapidly returning in 1831. The political drain caused by a check in carrying out the Reform-bill prolonged the distress. On the meeting of the reformed parliament, two committees of distress, agricultural and commercial, were appointed. In 1834, gold had returned, and money had become cheap, and commercial prosperity partially commenced. Agricultural distress lasted till 1836, when another committee on it was appointed; but before it rose in the summer, the general prosperity of manufactures had reached agriculture and produced relief.

This prosperity, arising out of an increase of prices, was short-lived; it drove the gold abroad. A panic occurred in 1836–37. The Bank of England, however, contrary to the intention of the act of 1819, interposed to mitigate the pressure, and a temporary revival of commercial spirit occurred in 1838, followed by the deficient harvests of 1839–40, an exhaustion of bullion, a complete prostration of trade, and dangerous outbreaks in Lancashire and other manufacturing districts in 1842. No other evidence of the existence of commercial depression between 1836 and 1842 is necessary than the average deficiency of £2,000,000 in the revenue below the expenditure, in all about £12,000,000, in six years of Whig finance. In these days Chartism sprung up.

In 1841 there was a general election, which returned a majority of ninety against the Whigs. Sir Robert Peel was called to power. An increase of indirect taxation had failed the Whigs. He imposed an income-tax to meet the financial embarrassments, and to secure the national creditor. The embarrassments caused by the oscillations in the value of money had attracted the attention of the manufacturers of Lancashire. They remonstrated in 1838 or 1839 with the Government on the Bank of England's being possessed

of a power paramount over the industrial energies of the country, and over the profits and success of every active capitalist in the kingdom. A committee of the House of Commons was appointed at their suggestion to examine into the operations of the Bank in 1836–37; but Mr Cobden and others who were examined appeared to have been satisfied with a superficial view of the more palpable operations of the Bank, without penetrating into the intricacies of the system which was regulated under the act of 1819, and they broke down under cross-examination. Thus defeated, Mr Cobden is reported to have declared that the best way to alter the money-laws was to go for a repeal of the corn-laws. When they were repealed, the landed interest would join them for a repeal of the money-laws. In this prostration of trade the agitation for the repeal of the corn-laws had its rise.

One of Sir Robert Peel's first measures, after imposing an income-tax for three years, was to modify the corn-law, with a view of decreasing the value of produce; or, in other words, of again enhancing the value of money; but still an ample protection was left. His next great measure was the Bank Charter Act of 1844. Hitherto, since 1819, although it was implied, and to a great extent necessary, that the Bank should act very stringently and rigorously towards trade, in order to force back their bullion, still the time and method of doing so were left altogether in their own hands. A committee of the House of Commons sitting in 1840 was influenced much by the opinions of Mr Jones Loyd (now Lord Overstone), who thought that the Bank did not take sufficient precaution in watching the efflux of bullion. By contracting their accommodation to the public in time, he thought gradual pressure would supersede the necessity for panic. To render panics impossible, Mr Jones Loyd and Sir Robert Peel contrived the act of 1844, which

rendered it imperative on the Bank to regulate its issues in precise accordance with the amount of bullion in its coffers, and thus secure a permanent though average high value for money, and a regular low value for produce. But the measure operated in jerks and unsteadily; for it increased the tightness when there was no bullion, and it pushed out notes and increased speculation when there was. In 1842, when Sir Robert Peel came into power, gold had begun rapidly to pour into the Bank. This went on through 1843: and in 1844 the amount of bullion was larger than ever had been known before.

The Bank at the close of that year, instructed by Sir Robert Peel that theirs was a private not a national establishment, and that it was to be conducted accordingly under the limitations imposed by the act, began to lower their rate of discount to a degree hitherto unknown. The great private discount-houses lowered theirs until money at call was as low as one per cent. Cheapness of money means, in three words, employment of labour. When every one can have money, every one is inclined to take it, and put in execution some pet project. But every project employs labour. Every one therefore competes for labour; wages rise; consumption and prices increase in proportion.

Thus was the era of railways encouraged to their utmost by the first minister. It was a time of temporary prosperity, attributed by some to Sir Robert Peel and his finance; and it was to be permanent, because the bank act of 1844 was to prevent panic: whereas the railway mania and the prosperity of 1844–45 were the results of the cheapness of money alone, which always sooner or later springs up after a great commercial panic. After such an event, at first all men are cautious; scarce any one will venture. The great merchant trades within his means; the small one has been annihilated; those of moderate means are

distrusted by the agents of money. Meanwhile ruin has done its work; gold is returning, and is accumulating in the money centres, in the banks, and the discount-houses. At last, owing to the small demand for money for commercial purposes (from the recollection of the late disaster), it falls in value lower and lower. But money is of no value to the possessor unless it be used or lent.

> "Nullus argento color est avaris
> Abdite terris . . . . . .
> . . . . . Nisi temperato
> Splendeat usu."

Thus the want of a profit on his money by the holder of it induces him by degrees to relax his caution in the use of it. Increased prices and speculation follow, with their usual result, for an increase of prices sends the bullion abroad. It is under this system that since 1815 trade has had about one year of prosperity for about three of adversity; and in the panics which have occurred has probably lost, at a moderate computation, a sum at least equal to the whole national debt. In 1846 came the change of the commercial system from protection to free-trade—a change intended to lower prices, and thus again increase the value of money—for this the moneyed classes supported it. It would injure the landed gentry—for this the towns supported it. It would give a big loaf—for this the populace supported it. It would decrease wages, and enable us to compete with the manufacturers of the world—for this the manufacturers supported it. It was the particular policy which a few years before the minister had been put in office to combat. Perhaps this was the cause of his conversion to it. How it came that none or few of these aspirations were eventually fulfilled the sequel will show. But the manufacturing operatives, it may be mentioned, in their desire to enter into competition with the world, forgot that, in admitting

the cheap produce of foreign labour, they admitted to competition with themselves the cheap serf and slave labourers of foreign states; for the town operatives are supplied from the surrounding country, and low wages in the agricultural districts mean low wages in the towns.

But though English characteristics and habits are singularly unrevolutionary and tolerant of political grievances, yet English politics had a very considerable influence in producing the European convulsions of 1848. It is true England itself remained nearly calm during the tempest. The effect produced was wholly unintentional, and arose from causes not generally observed and little understood. The free importation of corn and the export of gold to pay for it, arising from the failure of the potato and the measures of 1846, had drained the bullion from the Bank of England. In the spring of 1847 there was considerable monetary difficulty. To such an extent had this gone, that although the price of wheat was unusually high, orders for corn which had been sent to America were recalled, because no cash was to be had to pay for it; thus the Act of 1844 aggravated the cost of food, which suddenly rose to a famine price. As the bullion of the Bank was gradually taken away, its power of issue gradually diminished, and it raised its rate of discount. So far had the difficulty gone in the spring that exchequer bills fell to a discount, and the interest on them had to be increased to keep them anywhere near par; and so stringent was the law, that the Bank, in all its scarcity of bullion, refused £60,000 of silver as utterly useless to it, because it had its full proportion of that metal.

The difficulty of the spring having been partially overcome, it was hoped that things would gradually come round. But this expectation was not fulfilled. The Irish famine was this year a reality. Much money was spent

by the government to save that unfortunate people from the results of their own improvidence; but from utter fatuity it was spent in the production of works that could be of no possible future advantage, instead of being applied to some permanent improvement. Much bullion continued to be sent abroad, and the commercial difficulty recurred with renewed force in the autumn. The pressure had never been wholly removed, but had become chronic. The government, which perhaps did not fully appreciate the financial position of the country, would not relax the law, hoping that the increasing dearness of gold would gradually bring it back.

The reason why this did not occur, and why under such circumstances it often does not occur, was, that commercial credit, though elastic, will not bear more than a certain tension; then it snaps. When tightness has lasted some time, some houses break; their fall involves others; credit is destroyed, suspicion takes its place, and down goes the whole fabric like a house of cards. Thus, what the system is intended to produce gradually is produced at a blow. Some thought that the difficulty arose from fixing the capital in the railways, forgetting that the money expended in them was spent in beef and beer consumed by the workmen employed; whence it went to the butcher and brewer; whence it went to the farmer, the landlord, and the chancellor of the exchequer. Public opinion was not much excited, because the subject was rather dry and hard to be understood. The government had faith in the law, and they would not give way. Parliament had been dissolved, and the ministers had gone into the country. The panic began by the failure of corn-merchants, who had been induced to overspeculate by the forcing up of the prices in spring. In September fifteen of the greatest commercial houses of the city of London stopped payment for between five and six

millions. At Glasgow, Liverpool, and Manchester numerous bankruptcies occurred; for though commercial credit is slow in reviving, yet it is destroyed often in a few days. Money on bills rose to fourteen and fifteen per cent., and in some cases to sixty per cent. Bank-notes were hoarded; consols were at 79¼; exchequer bills were described by a great discount broker as no better than dirt under the feet. The rate of discount on the best bills was ordinarily eight and nine per cent. at the Bank of England; elsewhere accommodation was not to be had. The small houses gave way on every side. Railway stock was almost unsaleable. But the government, though besieged with applications to relax the law, stood firm. Perish the nation! Preserve the crotchet!

At last came the London bankers in a body. As they could withdraw from the Bank of England their deposits, which exceeded the reserve of notes issuable to the public, and the Bank would thus be obliged to stop payment, though with near £8,000,000 of gold in their coffers, they were listened to. It had gone on as long as it was possible to endure it—the country was in some cases reduced to barter. Every commercial house in the kingdom would have to stop payment. Sir George Grey (a member of the government) had been to the minister with a deputa- of his constituents from Northumberland, who declared that on the next Saturday the colliers of the north of England would be thrown out of work. The stoppage of the Bank of England—the universal bankruptcy, and the probable consequences of a starving population in the north, which would be aggravated by famine prices, induced the government to give way. The law was relaxed, though in a niggardly manner, and the panic vanished as by enchantment. Had the government persevered, the interest on the public debt, for a time at least, could not have been paid. Ruin, bankruptcy, and

repudiation stared them in the face. The experiment, even to the extent which it had been pursued, had ruined and crippled half the trading classes. It is perhaps to be regretted that political experiments should be tried on so large a scale, for the cost to man is greater than the advantage to science.

The Bank had leave to issue notes for discount at the rate of eight per cent. The stringent clauses in the bank charter, coupled with the export of gold to pay for food, were clearly the cause of the convulsion: the relaxation of the law at once caused its relief. But the relief was not granted till the kingdom had been involved in frightful suffering; and though the acute stage had been alleviated, the chronic injury remained. The railway interest had been completely paralyzed. The commercial convulsion had extended to the Continent; for London is the centre of the commercial world: it had stopped employment in the manufactories in France and Germany; had stopped the construction of their railways, and left workmen and operatives to starve on their own resources. Starvation is not an unnatural or unusual cause of discontent. That discontent was the cause of the simultaneous revolutions which this work is written to record. That the soil had been previously cultivated by the secret societies of France,—by the visionary schemes of the Germans,—by Austrian and Neapolitan atrocities,—is undeniable. It is not asserted that the policy of Sir Robert Peel cast the gun. It did not manufacture the gunpowder, or found the shot; it did not load, prime, point, or cock the weapon. But finding the cannon so pointed and so prepared, it was Sir Robert Peel's policy that pulled the trigger-line, and sent the charge tearing through all the nations of Europe; and persons who discharge firearms into a crowd are both legally and morally answerable for the destruction which follows.

This was the cause which rocked every state of Europe to its foundation,—which burst the flood-gates of nations, overthrew thrones, and crushed peoples. It is this cause that has so long hampered England,—has made it submit to acts of piracy on the part of Russia in the Black Sea,—to the imprisonment of its subjects, and the violation of its territory by the United States of America, —to every insult which any large state chose to put upon it. And this thraldom has encouraged the aggression of Russia on Turkey, conceiving that, under a Peelite ministry, especially, England could not be moved.

But it so happened, that the influx of gold liberated industry,—the great natural unlimited bank of issue in the gold-fields set England free. Accident roused the people, and they forced into war a ministry, pacific by intention, warlike by accident: man proposes—God disposes.

"But who has gained by this system which has so often paralyzed industry and crushed trade? Amidst the ruin of the farmer and the manufacturer, the distress of landlords, and the insurrections of a populace without bread and without employment, one class flourished and was triumphant. The annuitant and the tax-eater rejoiced in the increased value of money,—in the sacrifice of productive industry to unproductive wealth,—in the victory of the drones over the bees."

The reader is referred, for further information on this subject, to the work from which the above, as well as other passages, have been quoted.*

In excuse for having treated the subject at some length, the author may urge, besides the fact of its having been the moving cause of the late revolutions, that we are still engaged in a war that promised to be "greater and more worthy to be spoken of than any that had gone before.

* Sir J. Graham on Corn and Currency.

Considering then that as both sides were at the highest pitch of power in all their means of offence, and since, too, the rest of" Europe "appeared to be standing up together—some on one side, some on the other; some at once, and some intending to do so," it appeared to him not impossible that "the present commotion might become one of the greatest which has shaken Europe, some of the barbarians, and, so to say, the greatest part of mankind."* During such a struggle, and in the midst of commercial pressure such as exists now in the month of January 1856, it appeared not out of place to warn our people against the double errors which were committed in a former war, for which they and Europe have so deeply smarted; which have doubled their debts, or halved their substance, and by two opposite actions have produced, as might have been expected, not a mean of tranquillity, but violent jerks in opposite directions.

The currency question, after all, lies in a nut-shell. Is commerce to be the slave of money, or money the slave of commerce? Money is only the measure of value. Things do not lose their real value because there is little money. Are we to stop exchanging what we do not want for what we do, because we have lost the bushel in which we measure it? It were as rational to stop a draper from selling his goods because all his yard-wands have been lost, while, at the same time, he has plenty of measuring-tapes which will answer the purpose equally well.

* Thucyd.

CHAPTER II.

THE IRISH REBELLION AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION (THAT WAS TO HAVE BEEN).

FAMINE, expected in 1846, came in 1847. Thanks to the factious conduct of the Irish members, the statesmanlike measure of Lord George Bentinck with respect to the Irish railways had not been adopted, though government subsequently appropriated a portion of it. Irish famine was aggravated by English financial difficulty. England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity. Millions which were sent over by English charity were misapplied, jobbed, and wasted. Whatever is undertaken by our government is done badly. Some were saved, no doubt, but many more might have been saved, and at the same time the expenditure might have been permanently beneficial. A great part of the money found its way into the pockets of farmers who preferred working on useless roads that led nowhere, at the cost of the nation, to tilling their own land and preparing it for the next year's crop. Rents were unpaid, and poor-rates greater than the rent. The coercion-bill which was thrown out in 1846 was replaced by a district coercion-bill in the following year. The unimproving and embarrassed landlords were ruined,

the improving ones were shot at, and those who, disliking the alternative, absented themselves were railed at. Assassinations and altar denunciations were frequent, and drew a remonstrance from the Pope.* Special commissions were issued for the trial of agrarian outrages, great part of the south of the island was proclaimed, and the coercion-act put in force. Lord Shrewsbury, one of the leading English peers of the Latin Church, remonstrated in vain with the conduct of the clergy; while Dr M'Hale vituperated the government generally, the ministers individually, together with England and Protestantism, in that loud and theological manner for which he is so justly celebrated.

In England, the public mind early in 1848, partly occupied with Irish disturbances, and disgusted by Irish ingratitude, was suddenly taken by an unaccountable panic of invasion. Why it occurred at that period is not very clear. Had it not been for the expense, the militia would have been embodied, and the coasts bristling with cannon. Unprotected and unprepared she was then, and is so still. There is no doubt that steam had given increased facilities of landing an army on her coasts; but this was no new thing, and she had been for many years decreasing her defences, at the assertion of the unwary but loud and confident Manchester school, that the days of war had passed. And now a falling revenue and expenses increasing, owing to the commercial panic and the chronic state of pressure inherited from the previous year,

* To such a fearful extent did the curse of assassination run, and so much had the influence of the priests to do with its continuance, that it was said at the time that a counter-league had been started in one of the infected districts. Notices were sent to the parish priests to the effect that, in any parish where a Protestant was murdered, the priest should be shot at his own altar; and as it was pretty evident that the threat would be carried into effect, the plague stopped—a result which shows that the priests could stop it if they chose: a fact which renders clear by what means good government could have been re-established in Ireland.

together with paralyzed commerce and high-priced food, caused the project of increasing the defences to miscarry. Nevertheless, a revival of commerce was looked for, and men hoped for a less eventful year than the preceding one.

Ireland was, however, as usual, unenviably distinguished as the main difficulty. In that happy land every one assumed the privilege of considering himself ill-used, and it was everybody's fault but his own. The murderer and the assassin became tragedy heroes; the labourer would not work, and, rescued from starvation, struck for higher wages; the farmers would neither till their land nor give it up to their landlords; Dr M'Hale, picturing in virulent language the distresses of the poor, was himself a defaulter for the poor-rates; a member of parliament who had abused absentees, and boasted of his own presence and patriotism in Ireland, was confuted in his facts by Jacob Omnium, and not being otherwise able to reply, sent him a cartel of battle: and all joined in abusing Lord Clarendon, the viceroy, who was doing what man could to repair the rents which others had made in the state-garment.

The agitation for the repeal of the Union was an old sore; but a curious split had occurred. The followers of the O'Connells had advocated legal means for obtaining the desired result; but a young and more ardent party would not wait. Arms were to be collected, clubs were formed, drilling was resorted to, uniforms of a military appearance were provided, and the field was to be taken on the first convenient opportunity. These were the physical force men. The old Repealers of Conciliation Hall (there was a humorous Hibernicism in the name) differed with them in every particular, and treated them with a good neighbourly hatred. For a time there was an appearance that the two parties would exhaust their venom in mutual recrimination, and destroy each other after the manner of the Kilkenny cats. Later on, indeed, they came to blows,

and the moral force party fell on the physical force men in a public meeting, and, with a droll perception of the differences between them, beat them, pelted them, and broke their heads.

In England parties were little less broken up. The conversion of Sir Robert Peel in 1846, and his desertion of the party he previously led, had carried over the whole corps of his personal following, who were stigmatized as renegades and janizaries. On the other hand, Lord George Bentinck had retired from the lead of the country party, and, as a private member, was contented with fighting the Battle of the West Indian interest. Indeed so successfully had he done so, that the government was compelled to yield to the force of the facts brought out by his committee. Mr D'Israeli was not then recognised as the conservative leader, because of his vote on the Jew bill. The leadership appeared to be in commission, or perhaps rather there was no organized opposition at all.*

* "The landowners of these realms, while their property was melting away—while their station in society was in danger—while their encumbrances were increasing, and their means diminishing, did not seek to discover the real causes of the evil, and unite to obtain the proper remedy, but they dissipated their strength in a fruitless struggle of parties. One faction clung to the government of the day, and blindly supported its prodigal expenditure in hope of sharing its patronage, and making that provision out of the public purse for dependents which the hereditary family estates could no longer bear; while the opposite faction, irritated by disappointment and long exclusion from all participation in government, was tempted almost to triumph in the ills which their antagonists had created, and sought a vain consolation amidst national misfortunes in ascribing to the unbroken sway of their adversaries the common ruin that awaited all. Angry differences were thus generated and nurtured, destructive to the great interests of the entire body; and for the sake of the precarious benefit to be derived from the support of an administration, or on account of the headstrong spirit of unavailing opposition, the landowners remained divided in this crisis of their fate, and formed what has been justly termed a rope of sand. But united, what might they not effect? The ancient nobility, inheriting strong attachment to the soil, which their forefathers transmitted as a shield to the family honours, constitutes still an immense majority of the House of Lords, notwithstanding the recent infusion of less noble blood. In the House of Commons, the landed

In this condition of affairs, Parliament met. Lord Granby was put for the time at the head of the country party, but the appointment was more nominal than real: parties had been broken up, and there was a general desire to keep in the Whig ministry.

The condition of Ireland early engaged the attention of the legislature. The tenure of its land is complicated and confused, and titles are obscure. Not that the law differs much from that of England, but the practice of it is conducted upon those fortuitous principles which appear to be an Hibernian characteristic. The possession of land was to the cottager a matter of life and death. The inhabitants were cottage cultivators: few employed labour beyond their own families, and the loss of land was the loss of bread. Emigration had not yet become a sufficient drain to make labour valuable, or to be an alternative to the ejected peasant; and though there were millions of acres capable of tillage lying waste, low prices, high taxes, uncertain titles, and no capital, had prevented their cultivation, and thus interfered between the two chief raw materials of Ireland—man and land. Hence the fierce contention—the savage murders perpetrated to retain a hold on the only means of existence. Under the circumstances, it can scarcely be wondered at. And so strong was the feeling of the right, unrecognised by law, for the tenant to retain his land against the will of his landlord—so great was the sympathy for the ejected—such the feeling against his successor, that it was impossible to obtain justice against the perpetrator of agrarian outrage. The juries,

proprietors form a phalanx which no minister and no influence could resist, if, true to themselves, they would act in concert, and could be induced to move on one attainable object."—*Corn and Currency by Sir J. Graham.* A passage which, though written of a parliament unreformed a score of years previously, described with considerable accuracy its present position; to which it may be added with regret, that its distinguished author in no inconsiderable degree contributed.

though sworn to hear the evidence, and to say whether the culprit was guilty or not, perjured themselves. It was at the peril of their lives they found a verdict on the evidence: there was sure to be among them a coward or a sympathizer in the crime they were trying, and he either misled his companions or starved them out, or they were discharged for not being able to agree. Witnesses were intimidated and dared not speak the truth. Thus immunity for crime ensured its repetition.*

The general result of free trade measures and deranged currency was a decreasing revenue and increased expenditure, and a proposition of Lord John Russell to increase the income tax to five per cent.: a suggestion hailed by the country with unanimous yells. It had been deceived into an income tax, on the promise that it should be but temporary. The use made of it was to experiment on what is called free trade. The first result of free trade was a proposition to increase the tax, and increase the security of the national creditor, for whose special benefit, as has been before pointed out, that measure had been framed. But Lord John Russell, though deservedly a popular statesman, was not regarded with that blind superstitious devotion with which some who were wise, and all who were not, in the empire, regarded his prede-

* If government were to be conducted on the plan on which reasonable men conduct their own affairs, of course it would be perfectly simple to stop all this in a month. If each parish were responsible for the crimes committed in it, and a fine were levied on it of considerable amount, to go to the widow or children of the victim,—if this were levied on the priest, and he left to get it from his parishioners, the crimes would probably cease—for the parish and the priest would be interested in the detection of the criminal. The remedy is simple, and was applied to the civilisation of England by Alfred, at least in principle. If the juries decided by a majority of votes—say, if eight out of the twelve could find a man guilty, and the votes were given by ballot, it would both protect the jury and prevent the escape of guilt. Of course anything so plain and straightforward will never be adopted by any one. It could tend to the political interest of nobody, and its only result could be peace and quiet, which politically seem to be of secondary consideration.

cessor. He was forced to withdraw the obnoxious measure; but the improvident manner in which the revenue was ignored, in the change of the import duties, has saddled upon the country this tax, probably in perpetuity. The Whigs, at their wits' end for money, were about to propose a five shilling duty on corn, but were deterred by fear of ridicule and the opposition of Sir Robert Peel: at least so the report ran at the time. So disastrous were the consequences which at home followed the introduction of the new commercial code, ruined colonies, falling wages, discontented labourers, stack-burnings, and unprofitable shipping; for then the discovery of gold in California and Australia had not as yet virtually repealed it.* Such was the condition of the kingdom in February 1848.

When the French revolution of February came to be known in London, there was great astonishment among all, and excitement among the rabble. A person of considerable obscurity, of the name of Cochrane, called a meeting in Trafalgar Square, on the 6th of March. It was prohibited as illegal by the police, and the agitator did not come; but the mob did. It consisted of pickpockets, thieves, dirty boys, and spectators, who were here and there addressed by persons who alluded to the revolution in Paris.† They marched along Pall-Mall,

* It was not till 1851 that this had any great effect; and, until that period, agricultural wages fell gradually, on an average three shillings a-week: a fact ascertained at the time by personal inquiry in different parts of the country. Emigration increased to an extent that exhausted the market, till labour again rose from sheer scarcity. During this dark period of distress, the press would not, or dared not, speak the truth; and chanted a mendacious hymn of prosperity which did not exist.

† It was reported that one orator was heard to expound as follows:—
Dirty Boy (in worsted epaulets), No queen!—*Mob*, Hurrah!
Dirty Boy, No paurlament!—*Mob*, Hurrah!
Dirty Boy, No caunstitooshun!—*Mob*, Hurrah!
Dirty Boy, No bloody nuffink!—*Mob*, Hurrah!
Dirty Boy, To the pallis!—*Mob*, Hurrah!

having, with nice discrimination, broken the windows of the Reform Club on their way. They arrived at the Park, where the guard of the palace turned out. On this they passed over on the other side, and came back by way of Westminster.* Having converted the Reform Club into the most conservative place in Europe, the conspirators were dispersed by the policemen on duty, after a few broken heads and other small casualties. The Continent looked on gravely and expected revolution, unaware that the thing was a mere folly. Private pugilistic encounters were common during the day, and it was said a foreign propagandist, who explained to a butcher boy that the English did not know how to fight, was palpably confuted by being knocked down by him into the gutter. Fifteen thousand persons only were present, and a good many of them were but spectators.

In Scotland, more serious outbreaks took place. The commercial distress, the consequence of the contraction of the currency, had thrown the work-people of Glasgow and the neighbouring coal-districts out of employ; they were hungry, cold, and riotous. They held meetings on the Green, and were addressed by excited orators, who alluded to the doings in Paris and the manner in which the French people had rid themselves of their oppressors. On the same day as the riot in Trafalgar Square, a number of the starving poor had collected to receive soup-tickets at

* The public owes them a debt of gratitude for the only permanent and efficient reform which revolution effected in Europe. It was one which all other powers had failed to accomplish, but which they at once succeeded in. They removed a grievance which had long existed, and would in all human probability have remained to this day, and have descended as a venerable abuse to our grandchildren. They broke up and utterly destroyed the boarding with which stupidity and obstinacy had surrounded the bottom of the Nelson column; and which had been made into a pet nuisance, for no possible object whatever, unless to find Punch a subject for jokes; and it is probable that no argument, save the physical removal of the obstruction, would have persuaded the powers that were that the welfare of the metropolis did not hinge upon its preservation.

the City Hall. By accident the tickets were not to be had. Some, profiting by the occasion, directed an attack on the bakers' shops; when, not content with taking the bread, which might be justified by the law of nature, if not by the law of the land, in a starving multitude, they smashed the bakers' windows, which could not be justified at all; they broke into some silversmiths and jewellers' shops: indeed pillage, not revolution, was their object, though a few called out, "*Vive la République.*" The authorities swore in special constables, and the mob was driven into the smaller streets and defeated, and one hundred and fifty prisoners were taken.

On the following day, large numbers of famishing weavers from Hamilton, Johnstone, and Paisley, and colliers from Airdrie, flocked in. Eighty thousand persons were said to be assembled. The magistrates met at noon, declared they expected an immediate assault upon the city;—their forces amounted to fifteen hundred men. In Main Street, a body of pensioners were surrounded and pelted. They fired two volleys over the heads of the populace; but the attack becoming determined, they were compelled, in self-defence, to fire point blank. Seven persons fell, and the mob fled. This was, however, the only blood that was shed. Elsewhere, the precautionary measures were enough: ten thousand special constables had been sworn in—and the general body of operatives appeared disinclined to join in the disturbance. Jewellers' shops seemed to be the chief objects of attack, and it appeared to observers that the thing was got up by professional thieves, to enable them to commit a daring robbery under colour of a political disturbance.

In Edinburgh, also, a riot took place, but presented no peculiar features. The riot act was read, and the affair was crushed without any very extraordinary exertions: and though an attempt to collect a crowd was made on the following day, it was dispersed by a heavy shower.

The cause of mob rule did not appear to gain ground in Great Britain.

In Ireland, however, tumult and conspiracy were not so easily disposed of. An address was voted to the French republic by the repealers, who, approving of the French revolution, regretted that they were not in a position to enact a similar one. Even the old pacific and the new thorough-going repealers were for a moment united: a confederate body was to be enrolled, and called the national guard. They threatened to hold a monster meeting on St Patrick's day. The newspapers teemed with revolutionary articles, seditious letters, and inflammatory addresses. Neither decency nor law restrained them. Rebellion was openly preached—armed resistance recommended—the mode of making an insurrection in Dublin was described—the manner of building barricades was pointed out—the facility of throwing chimney-pots, and furniture on the troops was expatiated on—the effect of vitriol was gloated over—soda-water bottles were to be loaded with gunpowder and made into hand-grenades—melted lead was considered too valuable to be poured on troops, it had to be made into bullets—broken glass and crockery were recommended to prevent the charging of cavalry; while boiling water or grease was preferable for infantry. Hoops bound round with rags or tow, and soaked in turpentine, were to be set on fire by the women, and thrown on the heads of the troops. "Now was the time!"—"Chains!"—"Slavery!"—"Irish freedom!"—"Saxon gore!"—"English tyranny!"—"Finest pisantry on airth!"—"Battle-blades!"—"Erin-go-bragh!"

As long as the Irish confined themselves to mere words, very little notice was taken of them. Gradually they got the populace lashed into a state of frenzy. The people were ill-off, partly in consequence of the failure of the potato-crop, partly because Peel's Bank Acts had stopped

employment all over Europe. The Latin clergy, in the first instance, stimulated the excitement, and encouraged the rebellion, in hopes of plundering the Church, if successful; with the full belief, also, that the government was too dependant on the votes of their representatives in parliament to dare to treat them as traitors or criminals.

The Irish were further encouraged by the English Chartists, who both in the metropolis and the provinces held meetings during the week following, and decided to elect a Chartist convention to sit in London. They agreed to present a monster petition to parliament on the 10th of April, on which day they were to meet in huge numbers on Kennington Common, march on London, fraternize after the foreign manner with the military, turn out the parliament, establish the Charter, sympathize with the Irish rebels, abolish the aristocracy, confiscate their property, make them pay all the taxes, destroy the army, navy, and police, pick everybody's pocket with impunity, and beat the shopkeepers who had enrolled themselves as special constables to keep the peace. Seven halfpenny loaves should be sold for a penny. The five-hooped pot should have ten hoops; and they would make it felony to drink small beer. Such was the programme. These congenial sentiments found an echo in the bosoms of the Irish patriots, who grew, if possible, rather more expressive than previously. Lord Clarendon "lied in his throat." Persons of a contrary opinion were "reptiles whose breath was poison." The government was "a crew of conspirators." Mr John Mitchell, in his "United Irishman," openly preached sedition. The "Nation" recommended national guards and drilling. Mr Meagher was loud about his sword: while the old repealers, in Conciliation Hall, recommended the repeal members to prevent any legislation in parliament till repeal was granted. If this course had

been persevered in, they would speedily have made themselves too great an inconvenience to be longer tolerated in the British House of Commons, which had been sufficiently indulgent already. At last, however, when it was thought that the Irish confederates had committed themselves enough, Messrs Smith O'Brien, Mitchell, and Meagher, were held to bail for seditious writings and speeches. Lord Clarendon was threatened with assassination; and the accused did their best to foment armed rebellion, defying the government to convict them, and trusting to the impossibility of verdicts being obtained against them.

The Chartist convention met in London on the 4th of April, and occupied itself in preparing the demonstration for the 10th; but did not distinctly declare its intention to use physical violence: trusting that if a large force were gathered together, it could be easily incited, on the spur of the occasion, to acts of violence sufficient to produce a row or a revolution as luck would have it. Considerable uneasiness was felt as to the result; and great preparations were made on both sides. The monster petition was signed by many individuals for other persons. The name of Victoria *Rex*, the Duke of Wellington, Colonel Sibthorp, and other distinguished and obscure persons, were attached to it by scores. Other sham names, such as Pug-nose, Flat-nose, and No-cheese, in great plenty, and some others equally fictitious and more indelicate; many consecutive sheets of signatures were written in the same hand, and on one was written, "We were paid for no more." Meetings were to take place all over the kingdom to assist in the revolution, or whatever else it might turn out.

The English people, who had no taste for the tender mercies of the mob, came forward to help in keeping the peace. About two hundred thousand special constables were sworn in in London to help the regular

police, or rather to take their place in those portions of the town where disturbance was not expected. The police were concentrated in great force where any mischief might happen. Peers, gentlemen, shopkeepers, and workmen were to be seen assembled together, and parading the streets with the badge and staff of the special constable; but all they had to do was to take up pickpockets and cut-purses, who might have otherwise taken advantage of the absence of the regular police.

The Irish deputation had in the mean time been to Paris, where M. de Lamartine received them civilly—threw cold water on their hopes—and invited them to dinner.

On the 10th of April, the Duke of Wellington, who had the command of the troops, placed them in strong positions, but out of sight. The police occupied the bridges and the line along which the Chartists were to pass. No fighting took place. The enormous mass of the people who had volunteered their services to the help of government showed clearly on which side were popular sympathies, and rendered any attempt on the other part mere madness. It was a moral support to the military and police, of considerable importance in the then condition of Europe. But had there been any outbreak, the preparations were such that it could not have succeeded. Guns were placed on river steamers at the Tower, and the troops would have given instant assistance to the police had their help been wanted. But though rising here, as has been shown, the revolutionary wave, which had surged over and deluged continental and despotic Europe, returned and broke harmlessly on this island, where people are allowed to manage themselves and their own business, and in the main are satisfied with so doing. Many even blamed the precautions as excessive; but who could say beforehand what was to happen? The proces-

sions moved in long lines to the place of meeting; they were then kept on the Surrey side of the Thames, manœuvred into small bodies, and quietly dispersed. The monster petition, divided between three hack-cabs, was sent off to be presented by Mr Feargus O'Connor, with its host of sham signatures.* Among other curious devices displayed on the banners of the Chartists that day, was a legend which ran thus:—"Intellects are equal." Certainly the performance of the day did not aptly illustrate the doctrine. Among the special constables in St James's Churchyard, the author saw, for the second time in his life, Louis Napoleon, now Emperor of the French, and thinks he may congratulate his comrade in arms (if a constable's staff may be called arms) on his promotion. The first occasion he met with him was some years previously at Boulogne, under somewhat different circumstances.

Such was the English revolution of 1848. The mighty flood was stayed—reaction set in, and rolled back over Europe. Here it rose. Hence its ebb. The monster petition, when presented to parliament, was declared to weigh five tons, and to have upwards of five million signatures. It was referred to a committee, who counted the signatures, which, such as they were, turned out to be one million nine hundred thousand; the petition itself weighed only five hundredweight. The committee further found that it had arrived in three crazy cabs. The discussion grew so hot as to produce a parliamentary challenge, and the Speaker interfered to prevent any hostile and fatal meeting on Kennington Common. The highest estimate of the meeting was about twenty-five thousand, instead of the boasted five hundred thousand.

On the same day, the Government Security Bill was read a second time. It turned some seditious crimes,

* The honourable member expressed himself as much offended by a policeman at one of the bridges mentioning his opinion that he was a d—d fool.

hitherto attractive and gentlemanlike treasons, into vulgar felonies, much to the disgust of the Irish. Mr O'Brien, who had returned from Paris, complained he had been called traitor in his absence. The house cheered, and fixed the appellation he himself had first bestowed. He was, throughout his speech, interrupted with ironical cheers, laughter, and "oh, oh's." Sir George Grey on rising to reply, was greeted with loud and continued cheering. He said, he regretted that Mr O'Brien, in presenting himself to the House after a long absence, did not disavow the sentiments of disloyalty previously imputed to him, but repeated them before the House of Commons—not with the daring assumed elsewhere, but accompanied with a miserable pretence and lip-service of allegiance to his Queen. The honourable gentleman has said that in his absence he has been called a traitor; and he may therein have alluded to what I felt it my duty to state to the House the other night. For his absence I am not accountable—the cause of that absence he can best explain. (Cheers.) I did not call him a traitor; but I read to the house a portion of the report of a meeting at the Irish Confederation—namely, the announcement made by Mr Duffy that he had received a message from the honourable gentleman at Paris, in which he cast to the winds that discouraging reply he received from M. Lamartine, who with public virtue refused to encourage his designs, be they seditious, or traitorous, or loyal as the honourable gentleman pretends, knowing that if he encouraged such designs, he should be violating the law of nations, and giving a good cause of war to England against France. (Cheers.) I ask the honourable gentleman whether he is prepared to disavow the truth of that message which Mr Duffy announced as having been sent from Paris by him; and which was to be the exponent of the sentiment of the French nation, casting aside the language of M. Lamartine? (Cheers.) I ask the hon-

ourable gentleman whether he did say to the Irish Club at Paris, "Every new proof of sympathy renders us more able to serve the cause of our country. The satisfaction which we feel arises above all from the fact that we have found that there are at Paris Irishmen who are determined to unite their efforts to those of the Irish people in reconquering the national independence. Though we have been in France but a few days, we have nevertheless seen and heard enough to have the conviction that the French nation is deeply moved by the indignities and sufferings we have endured. We have seen and heard enough to feel assured, that were Ireland to demand assistance, France would be ready to send fifty thousand of her bravest citizens to fight with her for liberty. We offer to the French our sincere thanks for their generous sympathy. That sympathy may be to us, *later*, a great assistance; but we feel that the liberty of Ireland should be conquered by the energy, the devotion, and the courage of her own children." The honourable gentleman, knowing the sentiments of M. Lamartine, nevertheless writes to Mr Duffy and says, in effect, "We will, if we can, institute a successful rebellion; still, if we should be worsted in the struggle, I promise the assistance of fifty thousand Frenchmen.' Mr O'Brien drew his own inference upon his own words, in saying he had been called a traitor. (Great cheers.) The house drew its own inference, too, and proclaimed it in unmistakable language, by those cheers when Mr O'Brien exclaimed, "I was called a traitor." (Loud cheers.)

But though the parliament and the people agreed in not adding to their misfortunes by mob rule, the condition of the country was most unsatisfactory. Commercial enterprise there was none. Manufactures and industry were at a stand. Farmers were employing as few labourers as possible; and changing their corn to cattle and sheep farming, to meet the present pressure and coming low prices. This

state of things resulted from the previous financial and commercial legislation; but the committee of the House of Commons that sat this session on the commercial distress was so packed with members previously committed to the Peel system of legislation, that their report, when it came, was in direct opposition to the weight of the evidence brought before it. Indeed it was evidently from the first granted not to get at truth, but to stifle inquiry, and to report in favour of foregone conclusions.*

The Chartists got up a meeting in Greenock, but its only result was a row with the special constables, and a few broken heads. Ireland continued in its rebellious course, vapouring, drilling, and rifle-shooting. Great part of the money advanced the previous year to prevent starvation had been diverted from its intended object to the purchase of arms, a duty which the newspapers were continually urging on the people. Some recommended the rifle, some the musket, and some the pike. The Latin clergy were divided among themselves, for the bishops, at the order of Rome, were constrained to reprimand some for preaching rebellion and assassination. An attempt was made to arrange an alliance between Young Ireland and the English Chartists. Messrs O'Brien, Meagher, and Mitchell pleaded not guilty to the charge of sedition, for which they were indicted in Dublin, and the latter also objected to one of the grand jurymen who found the bill, and all of them were indignant at the charge, declaring it was treason, not sedition, they meant to commit. Mr O'Brien appeared with his head bandaged and strapped up. He had been down to Limerick.

It appeared that the populace in that part of the country were O'Connellites, and received the Physical-force men

* The Report of the Committee of the House of Lords is of a different character, and to it, and to the *Evidence* before the Committee of the House of Commons, the reader is referred for farther information on this subject.

as slanderers of their hero. The meeting had scarce opened when the mob, who had given a foretaste of their disposition by hooting the patriots the day before, showed tokens of a lively difference of opinion by banging in the windows and endeavouring to smoke out the audience by blazing tar barrels. The Moral-force men outside, in apt illustration of their principles, sent a shower of anomalous missiles through the broken windows at the Physical-force men inside. Some of these had, however, come armed; the rest tore up benches, and armed themselves with the fragments. The women being removed into safe rooms, a sally was resolved on. The chief enmity of the mob was directed against Mitchell. There were cries of "Don't hurt O'Brien—Don't hurt Meagher!" but no distinction was practically made, and when the mayor and the police arrived, the heroes were carried off the field with broken heads, greatly disgusted at the ingratitude of the populace, and declaring that the Irish were unworthy of the freedom they sought, and that they should retire from public life,—a resolution it would have been wiser if they had kept. Such was the excitement of the crowd that they had to be carried off out of the town by a stratagem. Being put in the mail, which was horsed inside the yard of the hotel, they were brought off under the noses of the mob before they could make up their minds either to stop the coach, or indeed to do anything but hoot and groan: with which popular demonstration they contented themselves.*

* The whole story was given in a very humorous ballad in "Punch," by Mr Thackeray.

THE BATTLE OF LIMERICK.

Ye Genii of the nation,
Who look with veneration,
And Ireland's desolation onsaysingly deplore;
Ye sons of General Jackson,
Who thrample on the Saxon,
Attind to the thransaction upon Shannon shore.

Mr O'Brien and Mr Meagher were tried, but though unquestionably guilty were not convicted; the juries could not agree. They came down to court in triumph. They were greeted on their arrival with cheers, in which twenty repeal barristers took the lead, very much to their dis-

When William, Duke of Schumbug,
A tyrant and a humbug,
With cannon and with thunder on our city bore,
Our fortitude and valliance
Insthructed his battalions
To rispict the galliant Irish upon Shannon's shore.

Since that capitulation,
No city in this nation
So grand a reputation could boast before,
As Limerick prodigious,
That stands with quays and bridges,
And the ships up to the windies of the Shannon shore.

A chief of ancient line,
'Tis William Smith O'Brine,
Reprisints this darling Limerick, this ten years or more:
O the Saxons can't endure
To see him on the flure,
And thrimble at the Cicero from Shannon shore!

This valiant son of Mars
Had been to visit Par's,
That land of Revolution, that grows the tricolor:
And to welcome his return
From pilgrimages furren,
We invited him to tay on the Shannon shore.

Then we summon'd to our board
Young Meagher of the sword:
'Tis he will sheathe that battle-axe in Saxon gore;
And Mitchil of Belfast
We bade to our repast,
To dthrink a dish of coffee on the Shannon shore.

Convaniently to hould
These patriots so bould,
We tuck the opportunity of Tim Doolan's store;
And with ornamints and banners
(As becomes gintale good manners)
We made the loveliest tay-room upon Shannon shore.

credit. In Meagher's case eleven of the jury were for a conviction; the twelfth, a papist, stood out, and the criminal escaped for the time. Had a majority of the jury been able to convict them, war would not have been levied against the Queen among Mrs M'Cormack's cab-

'Twould binifit your sowls
To see the butthered rowls,
The sugar-tongs and saugwidges and craim galore,
And the muffins and the crumpets,
And the band of harps and thrumpets,
To celebrate the sworry upon Shannon shore.

Sure the Imperor of Bohay
Would be proud to dthrink the tay
That Mistress Biddy Rooney for O'Brine did pour;
And, since the days of Strongbow,
There never was such Congo—
Mitchil drank six quarts of it—by Shannon shore.

But Clarndon and Corry
Connellan beheld this sworry
With rage and imulation in their black hearts' core;
And they hired a gang of ruffins
To interrupt the muffins,
And the fragrance of the Congo on the Shannon shore.

When full of tay and cake,
O'Brine began to spake,
But juice a one could hear him, for a sudden roar
Of a ragamuffin rout
Began to yell and shout,
And frighten the propriety of Shannon shore.

As Smith O'Brine harangu'd
They batthered and they bang'd:
Tim Doolan's doors and windies, down they tore;
They smash'd the lovely windies
(Hung with muslin from the Indies),
Purshuing of their shiudies upon Shannon shore.

With throwing of brickbats,
Drown'd puppies, and dead rats,
These ruffin democrats themselves did lower;
Tin kettles, rotten eggs,
Cabbage-stalks, and wooden legs,
They flung among the patriots of Shannon shore.

bages. These trials took place about the middle of May. Towards the end of the month Mitchell, after considerable delay and legal argument, was tried and convicted; all the papists and repealers having been struck off the jury list —perhaps unnecessarily, as he was a protestant though a rebel. A great endeavour was made to magnify him into a patriot and martyr instead of a mere vulgar malefactor; but he was carried off very quickly on board the war-steamer Shearwater, and sent with all speed out of the country. Subsequently he distinguished himself in the

O the girls began to scrame,
And upset the milk and crame;
And the honourable gintlemin, they cursed and swore:
And Mitchil of Belfast,
'Twas he that look'd aghast,
When they roasted him in effigy by Shannon shore.

O the lovely tay was spilt
On that day of Ireland's guilt;
Says Jack Mitchil, "I am kilt! Boys, where's the back door?
'Tis a national disgrace;
Let me go and veil me face;"
And he boulted with quick pace from the Shannon shore.

"Cut down the bloody horde!"
Says Meagher of the sword,
"This conduct would disgrace any blackamoor;"
But the best use Tommy made
Of his famous battle blade
Was to cut his own stick from the Shannon shore.

Immortal Smith O'Brine
Was raging like a line;
'Twould have done your sowl good to have heard him roar
In his glory he arose,
And he rush'd upon his foes,
But they hit him on the nose by the Shannon shore.

Then the Futt and the Dthragoons
In squadthrons and platoons,
With their music playing chunes, down upon us bore;
And they bate the rattatoo,
But the Peelers came in view,
And ended the shaloo on the Shannon shore.

colony by repudiating his parole and escaping to the United States, where he was received as a distinguished rebel and repudiator by all the sympathizers in that country, and universally respected as such. At the time it was essential to get him quietly and quickly off, as efforts were made to get up a rescue, and his conviction became an excuse for several Chartist rows. Some disturbances in London called out for a second time the special constables. Father Kenyon, one of the confederates, undertook to continue the "United Irishman," under the name of "The Felon," while a subscription was got up in favour of the convict's wife, who, poor woman, was probably much to be pitied.

In England, although the people clearly did not want the Charter, or a revolution, or a provisional government, but preferred freedom and Queen Victoria, it occurred to some of the old reformers and to the Manchester school of politicians, that, for the lack of anything better, the time was appropriate for obtaining an extension of the suffrage, and other innovations. The first reform bill they knew—none better—had alone been carried because of real distress, which it in no degree tended to remove or to avert. They knew that the policy they had themselves assisted in carrying had at least contributed to bring about a period of the deepest misery to the industrious classes. But though the people had the practical common sense to object to revolution, yet perhaps the time was at least propitious to lead them blindfold into farther reform; meaning, of course, to place political power more in the hands of Manchester than before. All these cries seem more or less matters of deception.*

* Who really supposes that more votes, more ignorant voters, more bribes, and more corruption, are likely to give work to those who are willing to work, and money to pay them to those who want to employ them? The remedy is not really to be found in how many vote, but what they vote; not in the quantity, but in the quality: it consists in putting an end to that

The agitation, however, was not successful. The reason is, that the distress did not last long enough. Australian and Californian gold pouring in counteracted free trade, relaxed the bonds which shackled industry rather more rapidly, and kept them loose longer than would have been the case without it. The people had gained some practical experience of the benefits of agitation, and betook themselves to the rough and simple expedient of emigrating to avoid distress and political quackeries,—a remedy found individually more efficient. In truth, Manchester had overreached itself. It had made the labourer's life so wretched that he would not stop in the country. It had only intended to make him discontented enough for political agitation, and his wages low enough to increase

monetary system which has been described above. If, however, the people were really happy, full of victuals, and well clothed in warm woollen, there would be no room for agitators. May it be that this is why agitators have seldom made an outcry for real remedies or real justice to the people, but have worked for shams more or less plausible, of no real solidity or use whatever? If as they say the working men of this country have sound cause of complaint; if they have been gulled, oppressed, and ground to powder by the monster capital, the demi-god whom legislators worship, and for whom the urban inhabitants of ten pound houses vote, what is the cure? Has the present money qualification produced voters so immaculate that it would encourage a philosophical statesman, apart from political objects, to admit to the franchise persons of a lower money qualification? Common sense would seem to answer, If these men have sold their votes for a mess of pottage, or for a pot of ale, take from them the inheritance they have misused; do not give others, who have every disposition to be more corrupt, the opportunity they seek—raise the money franchise in the towns to that of the counties, rather than lower that of the counties to that of the towns—admit to it every one paying direct taxes, for all such have a right to vote them and see to their expenditure, and—admit also, if it be possible, some of the best educated and skilled of the working men, whose interests ought to be represented and consulted. As it is, the ten pounders, the great untaxed, whom no chancellor of the exchequer dare touch, have now the power of laying taxes on other folks. Is this quite honest? It seems doubtful whether in states the one represented class has ever attended to the welfare of those unrepresented. Chartism in England and Socialism on the Continent, seem to be the fruit of some such neglect; both, though visionary in their objects, may probably arise from real grievances. Perhaps the franchise should belong to the *best* men in *each* separate class. Uniform money qualifications have failed to effect this.

profits. In consequence of his taking the unfortunate step of leaving a country which all this active benevolence had thus improved for him, neither of these hopes were fulfilled. The scarcity of labour in a few years raised its price to its previous level, and left those who remained as well paid as before, while their numerous friends and relations who had gone before promised them a ready refuge, in case of a recurrence of hard times or philanthropic legislation; while for the moment the influx of bullion and the export of goods to the gold countries gave increased employment.

While the Irish were preparing for their next act—open war, and the English and Scotch Chartists were every now and then breaking out into riot, or speeches of more or less insignificance, the attention of the country was directed to the curious transactions of diplomacy in Spain. It appeared that the Spanish ministry and Crown, alarmed by the movement of the liberal party, had taken to military measures, and resolved, if they could, to govern absolutely. Now, as England had mainly contributed to place Queen Isabella on the Spanish throne, to which she had a doubtful hereditary right, on the understanding that she would govern on representative principles; and as we had lent her money on the understanding that she should at least pay the interest; and as she did neither one nor the other, Sir Henry Bulwer, our Spanish minister, thought fit to remonstrate; especially as the soldiery killed an Englishman who, owing to an impediment in his speech, did not answer sufficiently quickly for military impatience; and he himself was forced to "dodge" out of the way to escape violence and the bayonet. Under these circumstances Lord Palmerston wrote to him a despatch, telling him to recommend to the Queen's government a constitutional and legal course. The difficulty was, that there was some apprehension that Don Carlos or the

Conde de Montemolin, might appear as a claimant for the throne on liberal principles and promises,—principles for which England has a blind and somewhat ignorant veneration, because they happen to fit its national peculiarities. If this had happened, it would have been an inconvenience to have to support an arbitrary Queen against a liberal King. The English envoy forwarded Lord Palmerston's note to the Duke de Sotomayor, the Spanish minister, who took the thing amiss, and sent it back with a snappish answer. The truth was, that the Spaniards, who are singularly ignorant of the internal affairs of this or any other foreign state, figured to themselves that the vapouring of the Irish, the turbulence of the Chartists, and the reform agitation of Messrs Hume and Cobden, were really likely to upset the Queen, the constitution, the houses of parliament, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Palmerston; because unused to freedom of the press or of discussion, the loud tones and angry invectives of the malcontents were mistaken for strength in place of impotence, while the contempt and good-humour of the authorities were mistaken for weakness instead of conscious power. They therefore conceived it to be unnecessary to keep on terms with powers in the throes of revolution, and immediately to be upset. Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords intimated individual disapproval of the course our ambassador had pursued in showing Lord Palmerston's letter, which was more laconic and to the point than the usual diplomatic verbosity, while that statesman smilingly wrote word he was noway offended by the note being returned. This soft answer, instead of turning away wrath, had the opposite effect. The Duke waxed hotter and hotter, and eventually expelled our minister, sending him his passports, and desiring him to be gone in forty-eight hours, and complained of his encouraging revolutionists. Now, as this was a direct insult, if

we had wanted an occasion for a quarrel, here it was. Apparently we did not, and Sir Henry Bulwer returned home. The suspension of diplomatic intercourse did not appear fraught with any particular inconvenience. On the whole, perhaps it might have been wiser to have let the Spaniards settle their own affairs their own way. All that can be said in favour of our interference is, that we helped the Queen to the throne upon conditions which she was violating. Yet, if the Spaniards did not like her, this country had no right to force her on them. As for guarantees, the foreign minister did not pay particular attention to them when the Germans invaded Denmark, and attempted to wrest from it Schlesvig and Holstein, the possession of which England had also guaranteed; which latter was a stronger case, for it was foreign aggression besides domestic broil. The British public was very indignant, too, that great part of the correspondence with reference to the Spanish matter was suppressed. Nor was this the only occasion about this period of the suppression of portions of despatches and the garbling of evidence. Lord George Bentinck vehemently complained that despatches in the hands of the colonial office of the greatest importance had been withheld from his West Indian committee; and that portions of documents only had been read by the colonial minister, while material passages containing matter giving a totally opposite sense to the whole document were omitted. The excuse alleged in the first case was a blunder on the part of the clerks. The colonial office came out of the business by no means creditably. Cooked returns were obviously its habit; everything was considered as not important that differed with its preconceived views.*

* The case is very sufficiently stated in the following passages from a pamphlet of a well-known writer (Jacob Omnium):—

"The most charitable supposition to make, by way of accounting for Sir

The story of the West Indies may be told in a very few lines. The patriotic and immaculate ten-pounders put an

C. Wood's statements, is, what actually was the case, that he was entirely ignorant of the subject, and merely spoke from a brief prepared for him by the clerks in the Colonial Office, in the absence of any other member of the government better acquainted with the matter; for Lord John Russell was at that time unwell, Mr Hawes in abeyance, and Mr Labouchere too scrupulous to condescend to make the requisite misrepresentations.

"I am aware of all the lofty sentiments which may be successfully paraded in parliament in defence of very shuffling work, and of the obloquy which may and probably will be cast on me by your supporters, for daring to point out what appears to me unpardonable dishonesty.*

"But on this question depends not only a great portion of my own fortune, but also the fortunes of many of my relations and friends, of men far more deserving than myself, who, to my knowledge, have been working earnestly and manfully for years in unhealthy climates to ensure a provision for their families; who, having invested their capital on '*the security of the national faith of Great Britain and Ireland, pledged in the most solemn form in which such an engagement was ever made*,'† have been one day baffled in their honest aim, because the 'no slavery' and the 'am I not your brother' cry suited your Lordship's political friends, and who are now consigned by you to hopeless beggary, because 'cheap slave-grown sugar' is a more popular slogan amongst the politicians of the Manchester school.

"I allude, my Lord, to the unfair manner in which the late sugar debates were conducted; to the unfounded assertions which were made by men who, if they knew no better, had at least no excuse for their ignorance; to the unworthy evidence on which the Ministers based their case; to the unimpeachable evidence which they suppressed. * * *

"It is not possible that the line of conduct adopted in the last debate by the Ministers of the Crown can be justified by any recognised rule of right and wrong.

"The noble Secretary for the Colonies, after declaring in the commencement of his speech, that he meant to deal with the question before the house 'with the utmost candour,' produced a despatch from a gentleman whom he had appointed to the government of one of the most densely populated of our colonial possessions. He pronounced that despatch to be a most able and admirable document, and said that 'every line of it deserved the attention of parliament.'

"He then read from it such sentences as established the case he was attempting to make; but entirely omitted to state that its writer's conclusions, formed on the spot, were entirely different from his Lordship's, and that they pronounced free labour, even in populous Antigua, to be unable, for obvious reasons, to compete with the forced and unrequited toil of the slave.

* "I beg leave to state that I use the word 'dishonesty' in precisely the same sense as Lord Grey used the word 'pettifogging'—a parliamentary one.

† Despatch by Lord Glenelg, Secretary for the Colonies, 12th October 1835.

end to slavery in those colonies, from philanthropic motives, which it is delightful to contemplate; and on the

"No other person at that time had access to that despatch. I ask you, my Lord (and if you will cast your eyes over the titlepage of this pamphlet, you will admit that I have a right to test Lord Grey by the gauge with which he measures others), what would be thought of a gentleman who had acted thus in private life? I know full well that my credit *in the city* would be sadly shaken if I were shown to be thus capable of mutilating the sentiments of other men to establish my own views, and so making them appear to share opinions from which I knew they entirely dissented.

"I have too high an opinion of Lord Grey's integrity to think that he has wittingly been guilty of the acts of which I complain. I am rather inclined to believe that his Lordship is afflicted with a sort of moral strabismus, which involuntarily but invariably averts the vision of his mind's eye from all evidence, no matter how worthy, which contradicts his own preformed opinions, whilst its morbid retina eagerly grasps and magnifies the importance of the trashiest testimony which may chance to corroborate his views. It is this deplorable infirmity which renders his Lordship's acknowledged talents comparatively valueless to the country, and has hitherto made him a dangerous patron and an impracticable ally.

"Surely it is not too much to insist, before an important question, involving the best interests of humanity, the ruin of thousands, and the annihilation of many millions of property, be finally decided upon by the legislature of this country, that every source from which information on the subject can be derived should be fairly and freely laid open to all concerned on either side; that no official evasions, no withholding or garbling of documents, should be permitted; and that before a Cabinet Minister gives to evidence that weight which it must inevitably acquire by the fact of its being brought forward and dwelt upon by a high officer of the crown, he should take reasonable precautions to ascertain that it is trustworthy and true.

"Before the Christmas holidays, Mr Hume moved for the publication of the despatches of Lord Harris, governor of Trinidad, to Earl Grey. They were not, however, laid on the table of the House of Commons *until the 4th of February, five minutes after the debate on Lord George Bentinck's motion for a Committee had been concluded.* Consequently, although the Ministers well knew what they contained, they preserved a strict silence as to their contents, and the supporters of the West Indian interests had no means of referring to them.

"The Under-Secretary for the Colonies, when questioned before Lord George Bentinck's Committee as to the reason why these important documents had been withheld, answered thus:—

"Ques. 16,572. 'All that I have to say upon the subject is this—that the despatches which were moved for were prepared for parliament, and ready to be laid on the table; but just before the meeting of parliament fresh despatches of very great importance came, and a great effort was made to print them in time to deliver them with the others; but a delay arose over which we had no

first blush of their self-gratulation, and with unusual honesty, they did pay for at least a small, though infinitely small, portion of the damage: but they found that philanthropy gave dear sugar, and so it evaporated. They were suddenly struck with the inconsistency of admitting slave-cotton and taxing slave-sugar. It would have been philanthropical, at their own cost, to have excluded the cotton—so they admitted the sugar—a course which at once indulged their taste for philanthropy at other people's expense—and for sugar.

In Ireland, the expatriation of Mitchell was a signal for invective from repealers and physical-force men, and a serious endeavour was made to unite the two parties by leaving rebellion an open question. Mr John O'Connell had given his assent to the union, and all things seemed to be going on smoothly. The repeal association was to be dissolved, and the confederates also; and out of the materials a new organization was to be formed. The main

control at all; and that was the only cause of their being delivered the day but one after the meeting of parliament.'

"The fact of despatches which had *not* been moved for not being ready, scarcely seems even a fair Whig reason for the non-delivery of other despatches, which *had* been moved for, and *were* ready: but on referring to the parliamentary papers in question, No. 62 of the present session, it appears that when delivered they contained no despatch which is not noted as having been received by the colonial office *more than a month before parliament met;* and, therefore, the 'despatches of great importance, which came just before the meeting of parliament,' alluded to above, are certainly not included therein.

"Yet we further find that Mr Herman Merivale, a month afterwards, on the 8th of March, in furnishing Lord George Bentinck's Committee with copies *of all the despatches* of any importance received from the governors of her majesty's colonies in the West Indies or the Mauritius, refers the committee to Parliamentary Papers, No. 62, of the present session, for *all the despatches* which had been received up to that date from Trinidad, 'which related to the present state or cultivation of sugar or coffee in those possessions, or contained representations of the distressed state of the planters.' What then can have become of the important despatches to which Mr Hawes attributes the delay?"

motive may be found in the fact, that in that week the "rint" reached the magnificent amount of not quite nine pounds. But after preliminaries had been arranged, it appeared as if there was not honour to be observed even among repealers. What Mr John O'Connell had said he was not prepared to abide by; and, appearing much shocked at warlike expressions, to the great indignation of the assembly, he repudiated all that he had previously undertaken. Their indignation was surely unreasonable. Till he had received ecclesiastical sanction for what he had undertaken, he could not be expected to persevere; and instead of sanction he seems to have received remonstrance: the consequence was that he revoked. His indignant fellow-agitators should have known better: since, being most of them members of the Latin church, and all of them having had constant experience of dealings with it, they at least should have been acquainted with its doctrines and discipline, which seem to tend to spiritual docility rather than to civil consistency.

This declaration and retractation on the part of Mr John O'Connell resulted, rather ludicrously, in a row between the physical-force men and the moral-force men, who retired outside to have mutual satisfaction in the street, and eventually adjourned to the police-office, where they abused and accused each other of assault and battery. The evidence being complicated and inconsistent, and the authorities being unable to unravel the web, they dismissed the charge which the more violent rebels made against the seditious, and *vice versâ*.

At a subsequent meeting, Mr O'Connell, finding himself outvoted, threatened to retire into private life—a threat which was uproariously cheered. Drilling and organization went on, clubs were formed and divided into sections, instructions were issued, and towards the middle of July things were sufficiently advanced to inspect the

troops. Mr O'Brien passed them in review at Cork, and other patriotic persons did so elsewhere: several of them at the time being out on bail, having been previously arrested for felony under the new act. Mr O'Brien was saluted by an old woman as King of Munster, and replied, "Not yet, not yet;" and, to conclude, he mounted a heap of rubbish to receive an address, and to make a speech. The heap of rubbish probably remains where it was—for such are too often fixtures in Ireland—but its "not yet" occupant has been to the antipodes and back. The temper of the populace was waxing hotter and hotter: it was proposed by the conspirators on a given day simultaneously to begin an attack on all who were of a different political persuasion. Appearances at length grew so formidable, that Lord John Russell, on the 22d of July, came down to the House of Commons, and asked it to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act for Ireland; thus to enable the Lord-lieutenant at once to arrest any persons suspected to be conspiring. He grounded his application on three propositions: first, that the present state of Ireland was fraught with evil, and full of dangerous portent; second, that there were means sufficient to produce extensive injuries, if the outbreak were not prevented; third, that the measure he proposed was appropriate to the juncture.

The House passed the three readings at one sitting, and sent the bill up to the House of Lords for their assent, but they had adjourned. It was however passed by them on the Monday, received the royal assent on the Tuesday, and was in Dublin on the Wednesday—and not before it was wanted; for the "Felón," the successor of the "United Irishman," had called on the country to rebel; and the "Nation" had followed the same course. The committee of conspirators left Dublin for the south the day the bill was passed in the House of Commons, and were

rushing about in all directions organizing clubs, drilling men, and calling them out. A large district round Carrick-on-Suir was on the verge of open rebellion, and Mr O'Brien was said to be at the head of 10,000 men, and that the first attempt to arrest him would bring on a crisis. The Latin clergy were divided, some disapproving the movement; but the passions of the populace were so much excited that they were disregarded. Mr O'Connell warned the people, in vain, that the endeavour, by the collection of a few clumsy pikes and rusty fowling-pieces, to frighten England into Repeal, was as absurd as the attempt of the Chinese to frighten the same enemies by painting ugly faces on their shields. As soon as the Suspension Act was in the hands of the authorities, warrants were issued for the arrest of O'Brien, Meagher, and a dozen other club leaders who were in the south: military and naval forces were concentrated: the illegality of the clubs was proclaimed, and some of them were in consequence dissolved. The officers authorized to grant licenses for the possession of arms held sittings for that purpose, and acted with great strictness.

In consequence, many stratagems for their removal and concealment were practised. It is said that a hearse full of pikes was sent off to the south; but the forges for their manufacture were closed, and the manufacturers betook themselves to Liverpool, whence the arms were to be smuggled into Ireland. At the same time there was considerable excitement among the Chartists in Scotland, who eagerly gathered together to hear read the flaming articles in the Felon and Nation newspapers, which were regularly sent over to them.

At length came the explosion, ridiculously small, after the vast preparations and tremendous vocabulary previously displayed. On the Tuesday Mr O'Brien arrived at the house of Mr Wright at Mullinahone, and after speak-

ing some hours in a style alternately warlike and peaceable, the crowd separated to toll the chapel bells and to rouse the country. The populace assembled in great numbers that night to guard the house. Next morning he dismissed them for a time, and dropped into the police barracks, to sound the temper of the policemen, who were of the same race and religion with the rebels; but they would not be tampered with, and the priest and respectable inhabitants remonstrated with Mr O'Brien for attempting to seduce the men from their duty. On the Thursday he returned to Mullinahone, and got his followers again about him; but the priest interfered, and succeeded in dispersing them and persuading them to go home, leaving their leader with less than a hundred men. He was dressed in a magnificent green uniform, with sash and epaulets, in which he bivouacked for the night, in a muddy and desponding state, in the fields. On the next day, however, he reassembled his followers, and, late at night, made his appearance in the village of Commons, with some other gentlemen, and three jaunting-cars, and upwards of a thousand armed followers, whom he drilled and marshalled. That night he slept in a cabin, which was guarded by some thirty rebels, close to the scene of the beginning and ending of the campaign on the following morning.

Intelligence was received in the middle of Friday night at Kilkenny, that O'Brien, Meagher, and others, had been proclaimed traitors, and that a reward of £500 had been offered for the apprehension of the former, and £300 for that of the latter. When this became known, Mr Blake, the county inspector of constabulary, immediately set out to effect their capture. Having learned that Mr O'Brien had passed the night among the colliers in the neighbourhood of Ballingarry, he sent a message to the constabulary of the surrounding district, which had

been some days previously concentrated at Callan, to the number of some sixty men, under chief constable Trant. He also sent back to the magistrates of Kilkenny to send him a reinforcement of troops to the same point, and endeavoured to gather forces in other directions. But inspector Trant was quicker in coming up with the rebels than any others; indeed the worthies of Kilkenny disapproved of the plan, and sent no troops at all, so that the police alone had to bear the brunt of the affray.

Mr O'Brien had posted his army on the top of a considerable mound of refuse from the pits: and about twelve o'clock they received from their scouts notice of the approach of the police. At half past twelve they came in sight. When the police perceived that the rebels were more formidable and numerous than they expected, they executed a flank movement at full speed in order to reach the house of a widow-woman that stood by the wayside, but at a little distance. Mrs M'Cormack, previously alarmed by the drums and other unusual sounds, had left her fortress open and run off to the national school to fetch her two children out of harm's way. In the meantime, after a neck and neck race, the police got first into the house—barricaded the door and windows, and prepared for the assault of the mob. The house had a yard in front and in rear, surrounded by a wall about four feet high, through which was a gate that led to a cabbage garden. On the widow's return she found her door shut, and the police in possession of her house and of the five children she had left behind her, and the rebels were about to commence the siege. She endeavoured to effect a compromise, and to obtain her children; but the police, though they put them in as safe a place as they could, chose to retain them as hostages. Mr O'Brien demanded the arms of the police, who refused to give them up. Upon this the attack began by a shower of stones and a few shots at the house. The

police made the widow stand out of the way. Mr O'Brien, who, previous to the parley, had been sitting under the wall of the garden, had retired. A volley was fired from the house: the firing lasted ten minutes or a quarter of an hour. Mr O'Brien was seen crawling past the gate among the cabbages on his stomach: the police fired at him, on which he rolled over, but, as it seemed, only to avoid being hit. After one of the assailants had been killed, and two more badly wounded, the mob retired out of reach of shot, where their leader paced up and down in great agitation—indeed, his manner gave the impression of his not being quite sane. This was the battle.

The authorities of Kilkenny had sent off police-serjeant Carrol to prevent inspector Trant from marching, but he arrived too late, and followed him to the scene of the disturbance. There, after communicating to him the message to return, he was sent for reinforcements, but was made prisoner by the rebels, Mr O'Brien for a time taking a forcible loan of his horse. He remained in the custody of four of them for a time; one by one, however, three were called away, and he persuaded the fourth to come with him to a public-house "to take a drink," and soon after he escaped, and was making his way to Kilkenny, when he met his own horse with Mr O'Brien mounted on him, who had in the mean time doffed his uniform. On seeing the officer, that gentleman drew a pistol and talked of shooting him; but on being remonstrated with by the serjeant for drawing a weapon on an unarmed man, he put it up, eventually gave up the horse, and made him a present of his walking-stick. He then left Sergeant Carrol, and remained some days in hiding. His followers had been partly drawn away from him by the persuasion of the priests, who saw that rebellion could lead to nothing. After a time the serjeant reached Kilkenny, and help was sent to Trant, who would not give up his post till

he had reinforcements, supposing that the rebels had only retired as a trick in order to get him out of the house.

So ended the rebellion. The leaders went into hiding: Mr O'Brien was said to have made over the whole of his property to his relatives. Mr Meagher of the Sword was nowhere to be found. Notices were published that persons harbouring traitors were liable to the penalties of treason, and that they would be enforced against them. After a few days, Mr O'Brien was captured at a railway station by an English railway official, and sent off amid the wailing of the populace to Dublin. It is to the honour of the Irish peasantry, that though his capture would have been rewarded with £500, there was not among them the man who would betray him. Who can doubt that of such materials great things might be made, if their leaders had the good of their country at heart, and not vainglory and self-aggrandizement?

After considerable delay, both the chartists in England and the rebels in Ireland were tried and convicted. The former were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, the latter were sentenced to death; but it was understood even at the time that the sentences would be commuted to transportation—a commutation which, as it appeared, required an *ex post facto* law to make it legal, the passing of which gave an opportunity, not neglected, to the Irish members of complaining of the hardship of not being hanged.

The Irish, occupied during the seed-time in receiving the alms of the English, had not prepared their land—they had been only employed in rebelling against the hand that fed them. The consequence was a renewal of famine, agitation, and riot in the autumn. Nothing of any consequence however occurred: the riots were only for the purpose of pillage, and the appearance of the police or military at once quelled them. The grievances against which the rebel-

lion was directed are not very palpable to the English mind. The slavery of Ireland appears to consist in enjoying a lower parliamentary franchise, and a considerable immunity from taxes. One great Irish difficulty is, that the votes of the Irish members—that is to say, the popish party—are generally essential to keep in an English ministry, and these votes are occasionally not given from the most patriotic motives. Of late they have had reason to complain, that the promises for which they have voted have not been fulfilled. That the Irish are a Celtic, not an Anglo-Norman race, need scarcely be repeated, and it seems doubtful whether English institutions are fitted for them. Of a highly imaginative temper, they are apt to mistake feelings for facts, and facts for fictions.

The reason often assigned for making the franchise in Ireland lower than in England, that to make them the same would virtually disfranchise Ireland, does not appear to bear investigation. It only proves that the present number of its representatives is too great for the number of persons who are properly qualified to elect them. The real solidity of representative government does not depend so much on the numbers who elect as on the men elected, and the interests they attend to. It is open to doubt whether the men the Irish have elected have attended to their real interests. In consequence of this neglect, as well perhaps as in consequence of the failure of the potato, and the commercial pressure consequent thereupon, and the fall that subsequently occurred in the value of all agricultural produce, the Irish have been induced to attend to their own interests. Two millions or more have died, or left that country and carried their thews and sinews to the United States: very much to the present relief of the mother country and to the advantage of themselves; but the relief has been obtained at the cost of fearful suffering and pestilence. When, some years afterwards, on the accession of

Lord Derby to office, it was resolved in Parliament that the then prosperity was caused by the measures of 1846, the House voted that which few individual members believed to be strictly true—indeed some thought it was notoriously false. But it was not all false. Great as was the effect of Californian and Australian gold, great as have been our exports to the gold colony and the United States—for to them alone has the amount of our exports considerably increased—it is not the sole cause which has given employment to our people. The measures of 1846 had their share: they at least helped to drive into exile the hardest working part of the people, both from England and Ireland; this raised the value of labour from absolute scarcity, and at last gave plenty to those who stayed; but it was after passing through a period of unequalled wretchedness. The subsequent prosperity was partly owing then to these measures.

With respect to what the Irish wanted, a good deal of it may have been imagination; but the real questions at issue were, whether the owners of the soil by law were to retain possession of it, or whether they were to be ousted by their tenantry. It was a question of appropriation. The rebellion, as far as it was encouraged by the Latin clergy, was a question of spoiling the Established Church in favour of the Latin heresy. The population is no doubt very decidedly papist, and it is perhaps very much the fault of education that it is so; but the property is mainly in the hands of churchmen. The difficulty is: Are churchmen to pay for the religion of the papist inhabitants of their estates? And it appears to be an answer, that it does not seem to be very unreasonable to call upon them to contribute to it. But in that case they have a fair right to have a voice in the appointment of persons who teach, in order to prevent themselves from being assassinated with the complicity of the priests they are paying. But it does not

appear to be altogether reasonable to expect the tithes of the Established Church to be confiscated, when the greater part of the property of the country is in the hands of that communion. It may be very right for a person to contribute to the religious instruction of his people, but it appears somewhat unreasonable to expect him to give up to them all that he pays for his own. Upon these two questions hang much of the Irish difficulty. The cry for Repeal or the cry for arms—moral force or physical force—all seem to tend to this end, appropriation.*

* Just previous to the death of that lamented nobleman Lord George Bentinck, who, it had been rumoured, was about to visit Ireland, and sympathize with the rebels, he wrote two letters so much to the purpose that they are worth repeating here, besides being very characteristic of the man.

"Harcourt House, Sept. 6, 1848.

"Sir—It is all the invention of some imaginative brain that I have any intention of visiting Ireland. I have no power to help her; I can be, therefore, of no good to her by going there to see the destitution and nakedness of the land. If I were to go to Ireland, I should not be above seeking information from a Repealer, or from a personal inspection of the 'Liberty of Dublin.' The religion or politics of a witness are nothing to me—his matter-of-fact information and truthfulness is all I consider. I am not a repealer; though I probably may entertain a very different opinion from you which country would be the gainer and which the loser by a repeal of the Union.

"It was not so much through the hostility of the English members as through the desertion and hostility of the Irish members (many of them Repealers), that in February 1847 Ireland lost the opportunity of obtaining a loan of sixteen millions of English gold, at £3, 7s. 6d. per cent., to stimulate the construction, by private enterprise, of railways in your country. Unanimous in Palace Yard on one Tuesday in favour of the proposition I then brought forward, on the Tuesday se'nnight, the same sixty gentlemen, having seen the Prime Minister at the Foreign Office in the interval, voted two to one in the House of Commons against giving railways to Ireland.

"Out of 105 representatives which Ireland possesses, 28 only, if my memory serves me correctly, would vote for that loan to Ireland. Two-thirds of the Irish representatives present declined the measure; the rest took care to be *non est inventus* at the division, which was the hour of Ireland's need. Read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the division-list, and you will find there were many more true friends of Ireland on that occasion among the supporters of the Union than among the Repealers. Is it surprising that, when Irish representatives voted two to one against the acceptance of that measure, and when but 28 out of Ireland's 105 could alone be found to say 'Aye,' that a majority of Englishmen could not be found willing to make a sacrifice of

English interests to force upon Ireland a boon which the majority of Irish members thus rejected? It is not repeal of the Union that Ireland wants; she wants men to represent her, who, understanding her material and substantial interests, are able and willing to promote and maintain them, and will not, on the one hand, to gain the shouts of the mob, divert public and parliamentary attention to phantom reforms that have no substantial virtue in them, or, on the other hand, sell their votes to win the smiles, or, may be, something more valuable in the gift of the minister of the day."

"Harcourt House, 8th September 1848.

"Sir—You mistake me. I don't care twopence for ill-earned popularity. I am for those who obey, and not for those who break the laws.

"If the grateful recollection of Irishmen for old services are wiped out by an honest man's speaking out the truth, the gratitude of Irishmen is of very light value.

"I care nothing whether Mr Mitchell be the 'idol' or not of thousands. I know he is a traitor to his country, and a 'convicted felon.' I know that he is an educated man, and has not the excuse either of ignorance or of poverty for his crimes.

"I am only sorry for my country—sorry for Ireland—that the infatuation of any portion of the people should be such, that thousands (as you say—God forbid it should be true!) can be found to sympathize with a man convicted by a jury of his countrymen, and by his own writings, of being a traitor to his Queen and country. You are very *ill* acquainted with me if you imagine I would condescend to purchase popularity by making my language to contrast with that of Lord John Russell when I think him in the right; and I openly avow, that in my opinion the brightest page in the history of his government is that which records the firmness and determination with which he has put down rebellion, maintained peace, and brought criminals to justice in Ireland—putting a stop to murder, spoliation, and outrage.

"I can say with Mr Burke, your immortal countryman, 'I was not made for a minion or a tool; and as little can I follow the trade of winning hearts by imposing on the understandings of the people.' The same false notion that I am a worshipper of popularity, and that I am running a race of popularity with Lord John Russell, has, I imagine, given rise in Ireland to the unfounded statement that I contemplated a visit to your country. There never has been the slightest foundation for the report."

CHAPTER III.

WHY THE UNITED KINGDOM WAS NOT REVOLUTIONIZED IN 1848 AND THE YEAR 1849.

How did it happen that the United Kingdom, which had so much to do in originating the distress that led Europe to revolution, itself escaped the baneful influence? This is a question of deep importance to the future welfare of Europe, to the future peace of peoples, and to the future government of princes. In the first place, there is on the throne a justly popular Queen, and not an unpopular King, who thus unites in herself the feeling of loyalty to the sovereign and of devotion to her sex. But perhaps the main reason is, that in England the people, properly so called, are governed their own way, and not anybody else's. It is very true, they may be deceived, as they often have been, into measures very much to their disadvantage; but they know very well that they have nobody but themselves to thank for it. If absolute princes would learn that it takes very much less trouble to govern states when they are governed as the people like, and not as others like; and were to make it a rule to ascertain what their people really did want, and act upon that information, the art of government would be very much simpler

than it is. Laws are readily obeyed when all men believe that they are for their own individual as well as for the public advantage. The fidelity of the members of secret societies to the most absurd and oppressive regulations arises solely from this belief. There can really be very little satisfaction in paying soldiers to oppress peasants, citizens, and nobles. Besides, a military despotism has the disadvantage of being always liable to military infidelity; and though almost omnipotent over others, the despot is often the slave of a licentious soldiery himself. Whereas, were he to reign in the hearts of his people, he would rule right royally while he lived, and live in their affectionate remembrance when dead.

Another cause of England's satisfaction with and faith in its form of government is, that it is peculiarly its own. Its origin is lost in remote antiquity; it has grown to fit its wants, and been added to as occasion required, and not been pulled down and built up spick and span, cold and comfortless. It has been compared to an old family mansion, to which continual additions have been made as occasion required, without regard to architecture or effect. The consequence is, that it is very quaint an incongruous to look at, but very snug to live in. Though its outward appearance may have changed much since it was first built, yet each addition has at the time been but inconsiderable, and has scarce affected its general character; so that it has destroyed little of its venerable ivy-grown antiquity or immemorial prestige. Nor is the English race less composite than its constitution; for the chivalry of the Norman blood, and the nautical tendencies of the Danish Viking, have been blended with the plodding industry of the Saxon in order to form it.

The people is difficult to blow into revolutionary storm, because it really has nothing to gain and everything to

lose by it. There is no country in the world, from the United States to Russia, where a man is so much his own master and no one's servant as he is in the British islands or colonies. In few parts of the world can he do what he likes, say what he likes, and go where he likes without either permit or passport. In no country is man so free to express his opinions on all subjects, whether as to the form of government or as to particular institutions; opinions which, if expressed in America, might cause him to be lynched, or in Russia would consign him to Siberia.

In this country everything is trusted to the individual; as little as possible to the authorities. In consequence of this, what individuals do, they do well; it is their interest to do so, for they are acting for themselves. Whereas, whatever is intrusted to government functionaries, from the prime-minister downwards,—from the cleaning of the pictures in the National Gallery to the feeding and housing of our armies on service—is naturally done badly, because it is not the functionary's direct individual interest to attend to it. "It is the interest of every man to live as much at his ease as he can, and if his emoluments are precisely the same whether he does or does not perform some very laborious duty, it certainly is his interest, at least as interest is vulgarly understood, either to neglect it altogether, or, if he be subject to some authority which will not suffer him to do this, to perform it in as careless and slovenly a manner as that authority will permit."

To the principle of individual action are to be attributed all the public charities supported by voluntary contributions: and individuals have had to supply official deficiencies and shortcomings in war as in peace. We often hear complaints of the meagre character of the public collection of paintings in England; it arises from this same principle; individual exertion and enterprise are trusted to do all that they will do; in no country are finer private

collections to be found. Nothing is undertaken by government except what nobody else will undertake; and whatever it does of this sort, it may be almost taken for granted is so mismanaged as not to encourage any trust in it for anything that can be done by the people for themselves. The great special constable demonstration of the 10th of April was a combination of individuals for the purpose of supporting order. Indeed, the right of private judgment, and the public expression of it, in politics and in religion, together with the liberty of individual enterprise, are the main rights cared for.

Nor is the principle of independent action confined to private affairs; for the municipal bodies in every borough of the kingdom carry on the regulations necessary to their own well-being, with little interference from anyone else. The internal affairs of every parish are conducted by the inhabitants, or by officers elected by them. The business of each county is managed by the local magistracy, who, though appointed by the crown, are practically the whole gentry of the county, appointed, for the most part, without regard to politics. It is to this system of decentralization that the English form of government owes a great part of its vitality, for every part of it is self-acting. It is not in this country as in others, that he who holds the capital holds the wires which move all the rest of the kingdom.

To so great an extent has this gone, that even each of the three kingdoms has a code of laws of its own, and in the case of Scotland, the whole of its legal system is different from that of England. Nor is there any greater uniformity in their religious institutions. The union has been effected by blending the real, solid interests of the states, leaving each as much as possible to continue its own peculiar local institutions; in order that, gaining the advantage of union, they may do so with the least

possible disturbance of local habits and prejudices; an example that, rightly understood, might be of great use to some foreign princes, who are endeavouring to force different nationalities into uniform states. It is to these local institutions, this principle of self-government extending from each of the three kingdoms to every individual inhabitant, that the state owes the orderliness of its people; for, at all times used to governing themselves, they do not run wild in their political fancies, except under the pressure of the deepest distress. These local institutions and this personal independence of action are the real grounds on which freedom is built. Men early accustomed to judge for and act for themselves, are acquainted with their duty, and do it from choice, not from compulsion; they know that to obey the law is directly for the individual advantage of each. Hence the respect for the law, which makes one man in the execution of his duty a match for half-a-dozen breaking the law. Hence the efficiency of the constable's staff; and despite of red tape and sealing-wax of government clerks in the London offices, they have fortunately not succeeded as yet in aggrandizing themselves on the entire ruin of this system, though they have made considerable approaches to it.

In England, too, though all men are equal before the law, all men are not equal in their social position. Social equality is the greatest antagonist of freedom. In every state where despotism, or anarchy, which is the worst of despotisms, has been established, the first requisite has been to destroy aristocracy, which interferes between the despot (or the mob) and the people. Those monarchs who have done most towards enslaving their people, have always done so by breaking the power of their aristocracy. They have destroyed the feudal system without putting in its place any efficient substitute. A crowd of state-paid,

unprincipled, inefficient, thick-witted, meddlesome functionaries, and a host of useless foppish courtiers, are but poor makeshifts. They have ever doubled the oppressions which a people submitted to under their old feudal lords, without giving them the protection against others which their feudal lords afforded them. Nor have they given that support to the crown in times of trouble which it found in feudalism. In place of perceiving that out of feudalism, and out of no other source, real freedom could grow, many states have destroyed the system altogether, and have in consequence rendered all free government impossible, or next to it. The reason why state-paid functionaries do not take the place of an aristocracy is, that they are a class totally separate from the people, have neither permanent nor hereditary connexion with any of them. Feudality on the Continent, suddenly rooted up, has left no permanent trace behind it.

In England, on the contrary, it has so gradually decayed, that it is difficult to say the precise period when it became extinct. But upon its remains, from its fragments, and upon our local decentralized institutions, is built a glorious fabric of freedom, such as exists in no other country on earth. The origin of representative institutions is unquestionably feudal. The chief tenants of the crown were summoned to lay taxes on themselves and to give advice. The smaller tenants, finding it inconvenient to attend, appointed deputies in each shire by sending two knights to represent them. These originally sat with the greater lords in one chamber; they were in origin representative peers. At length the towns became sufficiently important to send burgesses. Out of these materials has arisen the present parliamentary system, and it could have arisen in no other manner. The attempts of other nations have been mere imitations of the form without the substance. This gradual change has left an aristocracy which

at once leads the popular mind, protects the true interests of the people, and supports the crown.

By aristocracy the author does not mean titled effeminate courtiers. Titles are not an essential part of an aristocracy. What is meant is a class of persons with the prestige of ancient race and time-honoured recollections; who are in condition above the rest of the people and yet of them; who, living generally on their estates, are at once the friends, the protectors, and the leaders of their neighbours, in whose pursuits and sports they share and excel; who owe their position neither to popular whim nor to royal caprice; whose status is independent of either, and who can and will protect, as they have protected, each from the aggressions of the other. The want of such a third intermediate power, with ancient prestige, and hereditary influence in a state, leads too generally either to slavery or anarchy, or to both. Hence the destruction of such a class has always been the first object of the despot and the demagogue—an additional proof to those which have been previously adduced of the similarity of their principles and the uniformity of their practice. It is an axiom which should not be forgotten, that the formation of such a class is essential to free institutions combined with permanent tranquillity in all states. And yet it is to prevent the possibility of the existence of such a class that the power of testamentary disposition is voluntarily surrendered by the French, and is practically taken away from the Americans; a fact demonstrating how directly opposed are absolute social equality and freedom. For we see people parting with the latter to ensure the former, and for want of a class to intervene between the executive and the governed, we find absolute government established in the one, and slavery in great part of the other. Hence, perhaps, one of the wisest measures for the future tranquillity of France would be to restore freedom of testamentary disposition.

That which has preserved the English aristocracy, while nearly all others have practically come to nothing, is, that it has been ever open to all—all are free to rise from the ranks. The position of a landed squire and county magistrate is an object which all may win; and instances are not infrequent, nor have they ceased to happen, where talent and industry have enabled the peasant's son to transmit to his children hereditary honours, the reward which his courage, perseverance, and merits have acquired. Thus, though an aristocracy with little privilege, it is a class more powerful and more open to the infusion of new blood than any other in Europe. Hence, from its perpetual renovation, it is still as vigorous as when its Norman ancestors conquered Europe, from Scotland to Sicily. Its dashing courage, as well as its higher acquirements, render it worthy of the pride with which the country really regards it. Ever recruited from the best blood of the people, it is in the true sense of the word an aristocracy.*

* The cry of the administrative reformers against aristocracy may mean that it stands in the way of the absorption of all property, political power, and patronage in the hands of the middle classes, who already, to a great extent, rule the country, not because of their patriotism, but because political juggling put political power in their hands. May it be that the views expressed in the following extract from a newspaper of the day are in any degree accurate?—"They passed the Reform Bill and repealed the Corn Laws. They turned out Lord Derby and put in Lord Aberdeen, because they would not pay their fair share of the taxes (in the House Tax). In order to accomplish this, they bought the Irish members by corrupt promises, and sold them by non-performance. It is they who have been bribed and corrupted, and have betrayed the trust committed to them at the passing of the Reform Bill. They have elected windy agitators to represent them. Their pinching imprudence cut down the military establishments. It is to the short, vigorous, aristocratic administration of Lord Derby we owe the condition of our navy and artillery, and the alliance with the Emperor of France. To the weak, vacillating conduct of the middle classes we owe the administration of Lord Aberdeen and the Russian war resulting from it—our dilapidated commissariat—our economic peace establishment. They put in Lord Aberdeen—they got tired of him—they made a mistake. They put in Lord Palmerston—they have got tired of him. On their own showing, they made a mistake in him too—not a very strong reason to commit to their discriminating wisdom the

The difficulty which Prussia has experienced in her endeavour to establish representative institutions is no inapt illustration. As we have seen, the national assembly which met in 1848, for the purpose of agreeing with the King on the form of a constitution, attended to every other sort of business except that for which it was called together; being composed of hazy professors and wild literary men instead of country gentlemen, county magistrates, chairmen of quarter sessions, merchants, lawyers, and men of business. At length it became so troublesome that it was dissolved by military means, and a provisional sort of charter was announced by the king, without their assistance, and of his own motion. A new chamber met, and, after two or three dissolutions and much waste of words, it agreed on a charter to which the king swore in February 1850. An upper house was to be established; but the difficulty of making one induced the Chamber to postpone its establishment till 1852: and the difficulties to be encountered in its construction led the king further to postpone calling it into existence till the autumn of 1854. This difficulty has arisen

whole conduct of affairs. If the middle classes chose to repose confidence in some half dozen Whig families who called themselves liberal, was that the fault of the aristocracy? If they trusted Peelites, did the aristocracy ever persuade them that they were trustworthy. If the doors of the House of Commons have been shut by the urban constituencies against practical talent—whose fault is that? Is it to be attributed as blame to the aristocracy, that in the days of rotten boroughs they did pick out able men to send into parliament to serve the state? Abhorrent as the rotten boroughs were to the constitution and to theory, it may be questioned whether a system which returned able men is not better than one that excludes them. The real difficulty is a dearth of first-rate men ever since the middle classes have had the rule. It is not that there are not first-rate men among them, but these have neither time nor money to waste in the affairs of state. Where is the remedy? That is quite another question. It is something to know the root of the evil. If the ruling class is patriotic, the country will be well served; if selfish, jobbing, corrupt, dishonest, and shortsighted, the state must go to the dogs. The evils which have befallen us are the result of the mendacious flattering of the conceit, exalting the self-sufficiency, truckling to the whims, concealing the truth from, and passing over the mistakes of, the great blundering British public."

from the want of materials. The nobility, owing to the fact that each child inherits the titles of his father or mother, becomes innumerable; the property, with few exceptions, is forcibly divided, at the death of the father, equally among the children. This, after a few generations, impoverishes the whole: while at the same time, as an acmé of folly, trade is forbidden them, by which they might restore their diminished fortunes. Entails, to a certain extent, have been, it is true, re-established to meet the case, but under strict regulations and difficulties. But how much more practical common sense would there be in permitting the parent to dispose, by will, of the whole of his property; and trust to his individual prudence to do what is right, and what he has an unquestionable moral right to do; and allow those who please to turn their attention to trade, or whatever means they choose to get them a living, without restriction of any sort. There are few persons so deficient as to be, if let alone, incapable of taking care of themselves and their own affairs. The forcible care-taking of men against their will inconveniences the prudent for the benefit of the reckless—whose preservation is, to say the least of it, of questionable advantage. The counts of the empire, mediatized in 1815, have refused the seats offered them, because the government has not kept faith with them in other matters. And if any chamber of nobles ever does any good in Prussia, the number of titles will have to be diminished, and their properties and weight increased in the first instance. As it is, the whole chartered constitution has been thus brought into a very rickety condition.

Ireland is another illustration of the want of a body of resident landed proprietors, leading, improving, and influencing the people among whom they dwell. The very explosion of Irish folly among Mrs M'Cormack's cabbages, the utter failure of a rebellion so pompously announced,

occurred, because the populace was not led by the gentry of the country. Owing to the unfortunate difference of religion existing between the bulk of the proprietors and their peasantry, and perhaps to oppressive conduct on the part of some of the former, and on account of the absenteeism of many, for which the assassinating propensity of the peasantry may be chiefly blamed; owing to the factious, turbulent, jesuitical, and theological behaviour of part of the Latin priesthood, which has stimulated that brotherly hatred which exists between these neighbours: owing, too, to the competition for land, as the only means of supporting life, and the careless disposition of the people, which makes them content to exist almost wholly on the potato ("O sanctas gentes quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis numina"): owing to the religious bigotry of both parties, naturally inflamed by a continued succession of neighbourly bad offices: owing, too, to the cruel misbehaviour of many of the agents of absentee landlords—the two parties are in a perpetual state of warfare with each other. Little political sympathy exists between the Orange landlord and the Papist tenantry. The latter are ever hoping, under the inspiration of their priests or agitators, to dispossess and pillage the former. To this object are all their agitations really directed. No wonder that the gentry and noblemen of Ireland have so little shared these views: there could be but little co-operation between them. This accounts for the ludicrous failure which has usually attended Irish rebellion and Irish agitation. The agitation has never been for an object in which the natural leaders of the people could join. Could the two have been induced to forget their mutual animosity and jointly occupy themselves in the material improvement of their country—in the cultivation of its land and the manufacture of its produce—Ireland's wretchedness would long since have ceased, and in place of a spectacle alternately for the pity and ridi-

cule of Europe, she would have become the brightest jewel in the British crown. It is from the want of leaders and discipline only that the Irish fail: disciplined and led, they have won laurels on many a field.

Such had been the general improvidence of all classes in Ireland, such the universal squandering, such the confusion of the titles to landed estates, that the legislature, during the session of 1848, passed a measure for the sale of the encumbered properties, by means of which they were to be conveyed to a purchaser clear of all previous charges and uncertainties, with a new parliamentary title. It was a measure which, though in some cases productive of grievous injustice and ruin to families, has eventually worked for public good. The private wrong was caused by the properties being forced into the market at the deepest period of distress. Misery had tended to produce the rebellion of 1848, and the reckless improvidence of the Irish themselves during that year, left the land unprepared, the landlords reduced to paupers, the poor-rates exceeding the rent, the peasantry starving, and the better class of farmers emigrating. Such were the consequences of the failure of the potato, free imports, high rates and taxes, and a deficient currency. The Irish Exodus and the Encumbered Estates Act were the legitimate results of the measures of 1844 and 1846.

Nor was the distress confined to the sister kingdom. During 1849, it was shared also by England. There a slight, a very slight revival had taken place in trade, arising from the relaxation of the money market, following the screw of the previous years; but its effect was scarce perceptible. Though mentioned in the royal speech—vaunted by a press economic in truth, and chanted by Manchester, still prosperity existed more in imagination than in fact, while distress was deep, real, and heart-rending. Such was the fall of wages, and such the discontent

among the agricultural labourers, that the emigration from the country villages exceeded anything that the newspapers of the day chose or dared to publish. It is true that, in the neighbourhood of the great towns, the fall in wages was not so perceptible;—it is true also that the emigration was stimulated by the discovery of gold in California. It is true that that emigration was so extensive as to check the fall of wages; and, very much to the disgust of the Manchester school, eventually to bring them up to their previous level. The peasantry, then, were hungry and discontented. Such were the first consequences of the promised cheap loaf—in other words high taxes on the producer, which rendered production unremunerative. Such were to the peasant the results of free imports and of contracted currency.

Nor were the tenant-farmers more content; they were infinitely more angry with the new policy, and infinitely more determined on change than the country gentlemen. Indeed they suffered more; and the return of ten per cent. on the rent, which was pretty generally made, did very little towards helping them through. Unjust legislation had left them subject to an enormous burden of taxes, and paying a fixed rent to their landlords; while they remarked, with some justice, that the majority of the House of Commons, and the whole of the House of Peers, were rent-receivers, and were thus profiting from the cheapness of necessaries and the dearness of money.

Thus they were led to distrust their landlords, and to agitate for themselves. In some instances, this spirit, as in Nottinghamshire, induced them to start a candidate of their own against the gentry—a symptom over which Manchester and the Peelites no doubt hugged themselves. The former took a turn at calling themselves farmers' friends, and talked about repealing taxes for them, especially the malt-tax, hoping to seduce them, but finding

that the farmers were not to be won, and that if they distrusted their landlords, they were not to be gained over to trust their enemies, they forgot their previous professions, and were found in the government majority against the repeal of that tax when it was afterwards moved for.

Such, however, was the general discontent and distress, not only of the landed but the shipping and commercial interests, that the Manchester men, who had seen the futility of agitating for parliamentary reform, were talking of retrenchments, and preparing hazy budgets, proposing to pay off national debts, and generally angling for any sympathy that amidst difficulty and distress they could catch, and that the differences they had sown between landlord and tenant might give them. The continuance of the distress had naturally the effect of lessening the support of the government.

The year 1849 then passed principally in ruin, and talk of retrenchment, and abortive agitation for this purpose, and in the making of promises to help the farmers to obtain some shreds of justice, which as yet have not been fulfilled. Nor was the distress of any interest removed. The reaction of the currency, assisted by the gold discoveries, did not begin to produce that result till 1852. England had sound cause for discontent in these years; but none at all for revolution, in the continental sense of barricades and bullets, or in the Irish one of moral force, tar-barrels, brick-bats, and cabbage-gardens.

CONCLUSION.

"Je soutiendrai mon opinion jusqu'à la dernière goutte de mon encre."
MOLIERE.

LEAVING France for the moment out of the question, during the resettlement of Europe after the revolutions of 1848, two opposite forces appear mainly to have influenced events, Austria on the one hand, and Lord Palmerston on the other. These two may be considered as co-ordinates, to which many subsequent events of importance may be principally referred. We have seen that when the Hungarians had overpowered the forces of their usurping king, he had been obliged to accept the aid of the Czar, who had poured an overwhelming flood of his serf-soldiers on to the Hungarian plains. The Magyars were surrounded, and their commander induced to lay down his arms unconditionally, either by secret promises of protecting the lives of his men, or by the conviction that resistance was hopeless. And though some have asserted that he was influenced by jealousy existing between him and Kossuth, or by the use of direct bribery and corruption, yet there does not appear any very distinct evidence that it was so. But if there had been unity and resolution alike among the leaders and the soldiers, it is clear that any over-match in numbers, or in

position only, is no reason for any commander of freemen to quail. The history of mankind, from Marathon and Thermopylæ to the Alma and Inkermann, demonstrates the contrary.

Austrian usurpation and want of faith had rendered Russian intervention necessary to its preservation. Of the Hungarian and Polish leaders many had escaped into Turkey; where some of them, for better security, embraced Mahometanism. Now the policy of Russia was always to seek every cause of complaint against the Turk; and to browbeat him at every convenient opportunity. And though it had been usually the policy of Austria, up to this period, to protect the Porte against Russian encroachment, as a counterpoise to Muscovite obstruction in the Danubian principalities, at that moment, not only was she at the feet of the Czar, but she was raging for the blood of those whose crime was attachment to the legal institutions of their country, and was probably all the more bloodthirsty because they had legal right on their side, and she had not.

In consequence of this temporary identity of interest, Austria and Russia together demanded the fugitives from the Sultan, whom he stoutly refused to give up to their tender mercies: in which he was backed by the united fleets of England and France. And though the dispute ran to the extent of a suspension of diplomatic relations, yet as the attitude of the Western Powers, in support of Turkey, was decided: and as the Emperor of Russia, with Austria alone, was not prepared at that time to brave their united opposition, when backed by their respective fleets (which had been driven into the Dardanelles by a judicious and diplomatic spell of foul weather), a compromise of the claim was extorted. The Turks agreed to settle the refugees at a distance from the frontier, and to send away any Polish refugees, furnished with foreign passports, who

might be intriguing against Russia. A similar convention was entered into with Austria, with respect to the Hungarians claimed as its subjects. Thus Austria brought England and France into opposition to Russia and itself on the shores of the Bosphorus.

Among the follies of Europe in 1848, a storm in a tea-cup had occurred in Wallachia. Bucharest had done a revolution—"tout comme un autre"—not a very dangerous one, for it was effected with cheers for the Sultan. The Czar, who had a joint protectorate over the principality, and who appeared to make use of his right to invade its territory whenever it was convenient, immediately occupied that province of Turkey in Europe with his troops, and there established them, very much to the annoyance of the Porte; and he compelled it to agree to a convention, allowing him to keep thirty thousand of them there till Hungary was pacified. The Hungarian quarrel thus gave the Muscovites a desirable opportunity for weakening the Sultan, and occupying the Danubian principalities, where they regularly employ themselves in intriguing against the Turkish protectorate, and in fomenting discontent against the feudal superior of the province. The Wallachians and Moldavians appear to have been in the happy position of having foreign troops constantly quartered upon them, and being alternately hectored over and tutored by all the barbarians in Europe.

What it was that induced the noble lord at the head of the foreign office to engage Admiral Parker, on his way back from the Dardanelles, in the affair of Don Pacifico's bedsteads at the Piræus, is a mystery. Whether it was, that his diplomatic and "judicious bottle-holding" to democracy had been defeated by Russian and Austrian influence, and he considered that in striking at Greece he was aiming a blow at Russia;—or whether it was that the Greek shipping in the Levant was a cause of commercial

jealousy, as has been insinuated, it is difficult to say. But, be this as it may, Admiral Parker having arrived in the Piræus, and having presented his leading officers to the King, in a friendly manner, next day called with Mr Wyse, the British minister, on the Greek minister of foreign affairs, and required reparation for some trumpery claims in twenty-four hours. This being refused, he blockaded the Piræus: a course which injured Greek commerce, disgusted Greece with English diplomacy, and threw that kingdom into the arms of Russia, who was only too ready to intrigue there for a fulcrum on which to rest an attack on the Porte. France and Russia however interfered. Negotiations were at once carried on at Athens and in London. In the former, the diplomatists could come to no agreement, and Greece was compelled to give in under the threat of a renewal of the blockade at the end of April 1850; while in London, terms had been agreed on six days previously. After a good deal of discussion, Lord Palmerston resolved to maintain the convention of Athens: thereby insulting France to such an extent, that the ambassador of that power, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, was recalled: thus landing England in a larger quarrel, breaking the union of the two powers, and giving encouragement to Russia;—a policy which was, on the motion of Lord Stanley, censured by the House of Peers, and escaped the censure of the House of Commons by a narrow majority. Between the two debates, however, the foreign minister gave way, and let it be understood by the French government that he was willing to accept the convention of London. Having thus estranged the English and French governments, and joined the French and Russian together as mediators, in short, having done as much mischief as possible in such a small matter, the minister appeared dissatisfied with the success he had obtained.

Not content with receiving this check, he proposed

to follow the same course with other little states, commencing with Portugal and Tuscany. The principle which he announced, that an Englishman, whenever he was insulted, should be able, as a Roman of old, to say, "Civis Romanus sum," and thus put himself under the direct protection of the British fleet, was certainly not likely to be agreeable to powers who, accustomed to treat their own subjects without regard either to justice or right, found themselves called on to pay for having similarly treated an Englishman. The claims to reimbursement for injuries, committed in a rebellion, to the property of a foreigner could not be agreeable where rebellions and conspiracies were plenty and pence few. The whole case is beset with difficulties. No Englishman would maintain that it is the duty of the English government to permit its subjects to be seized, tried, imprisoned, and executed without a fair trial in any country in the world; or, with a secret trial, where the evidence is not given in presence of the accused, and the accused is not furnished with the names of the witnesses against him, or has no opportunity of making his defence, even though such a form be usual in the barbarous country in which he may be resident. None would desire that an Englishman should be chopped on the head by savage Croats because he happens to be pushed against them by the crowd, or because of the shape of his hat, without a remonstrance, nor consider it an excuse that he was mistaken for an Italian. A state should be prepared to defend its subjects when wronged by foreign governments; that is to say, when in a very gross manner refused justice. England, for instance, ought to have demanded and received reparation from the United States for the gross violation of international law by the imprisonment of a British subject arriving in a British ship because his skin happened to be black; but it ought not, out of regard for its dignity or respectability, to go

about picking quarrels with every petty principality or for every puny cause. British subjects ought, like others, to be left to the tribunals of the country they choose for their residence, unless some very gross act of barbarity or oppression is committed by the government, or with its sanction, which almost places it beyond the pale of civilized nations. The right may exist, but great discretion should be used in exercise. This was not the aspect in which it was understood, or at least exercised, by the English minister. And against his interpretation of it, Austria and Russia vigorously protested. Not but that they might have done the same, had the right been exercised with the greatest caution.

Austria and Russia, however, though united in objecting to Lord Palmerston's policy, both in respect of his demand on behalf of British subjects and in his diplomatic encouragement of what were, or at least what they considered were, revolutionary politics, were by no means harmoniously disposed to each other on other subjects. The Emperor of Austria was under obligations to the Czar far too deep to bear their weight with equanimity. Perhaps, too, a vague indefinite remorse at the blood he had shed in a usurping cause, may have added the stings of conscience to ingratitude. The Austrian and Russian armies that occupied Hungary had soon found subjects of dispute. The very fact of the Muscovites having been obliged to interfere, after the Magyars had defeated in succession all the Austrians and Croats that had invaded their country, was a natural military cause for jealousy: added to which the Slovacks, being of a cognate race with the Russians, regarded their occupation of the country with more complacency than they did that of the Austrians. Russian influence increased, and Austrian influence waned, the Czar being regarded as the head of the Sclavonic race. Besides, the Russian troops are, if anything, rather more

civilized towards those they are quartered on than the Austrians. Thence it happened that, pressed by the Czar, and jealous of his influence, on the one side, it became essential to Austria to strengthen its position on the other side, as an offset.

Successful as she had been in dictating terms to Piedmont, in pacifying Lombardy, in recovering the Italian provinces, and in restoring the *status quo ante bellum:* yet it cannot be said that she had not lost prestige in that struggle, and that Piedmont did not occupy a more leading position among the Italian states than previously. Beaten and humiliated in arms, the young King of Piedmont honourably persevered in the course of government which he promised to adopt, without flinching; and has thus set up his kingdom as a free state amid enslaved ones. Enjoying religious toleration, parliamentary institutions, and a King who appears to consider the character of a gentleman as not incompatible with the royal office, Piedmont has become naturally the point to which all the moderate reformers of Italy turn for encouragement. It became at the same time naturally the object of dread and jealousy to the despotic civil and religious governments in its neighbourhood, and remains a thorn in the side of Austria and Rome to this day. It is not improbable that, in joining the allies against Russia, Piedmont hoped that somehow eventually Austria would take the other side.

In England, however, the popular mind was much excited by other matters, and cared for none of those things. No sooner was the Pope placed again on his temporal throne by the help, as it has been seen, of the very unspiritual thunder of the French cannon, while Spain landed other troops at one end of his dominions to assist him, and Austria occupied the other, than he turned his attention to the benighted and uncivilized regions inhabited by the Anglo-Norman race, who, as all the world knows, are

heretical, and in consequence have never reached that pitch of perfection, prosperity, wealth, or power enjoyed by the blissful regions of faithful Spain and Italy and Ireland. Having our unfortunate condition before his eyes, and desiring to minister to our wants, and moreover, finding that his spiritual artillery had very little effect on his immediate neighbours or subjects, it occurred to him to try the experiment of a longer range; and having discharged from a huge piece of spiritual ordnance a projectile of fearful magnitude and of a most explosive character over the heads of astonished Europe, it alighted with a mighty commotion in these islands. It was greeted with a grand and verbose epistle from the prime minister to the Bishop of Durham. The whole clergy of the church were up in arms militant. The establishment of Bishops, and a hierarchy called "Catholic," in a country already occupied by a branch of the Catholic Church, was rank schism. Then a shout arose from the populace and desperate no-popery uproar. All this was utterly futile, owing to the fear of the Irish brigade, which paralyzed the minister when he had time to reflect. The result must have been very gratifying to the papal mind: the weapon had gone off this time; the shot had told; his thunder was not all unserviceable; this shell had exploded fairly in the midst of the enemy. How the Latin Church accounts now for its schismatic proceedings, when for twelve years in the reign of Elizabeth it tolerated her reforms, while the papists went to their parish churches like any other Christians, and in fact implied by omission that within the pale of the English church salvation was to be had, (or else left all the unfortunate departed during those twelve years by the most unpardonable laches to go the wrong way, because she neglected to send them the right one); or how this course is in accordance with the doctrines of infallibility she professes, it is not our busi-

ness to explain. If the doctrines and practices of the Church of England as by law established were efficient during these twelve years for salvation, the protestant mind does not perceive why they since ceased to be so. This, however, is foreign to our subject, and its only bearing on it was that the Durham letter disgusted the Irish brigade with the cabinet in 1850, and further weakened the already weak Whig government, and finally contributed to its defeat and resignation.

Austria had been humbled on the north by the help she had been forced to solicit of the Czar. She had been weakened on the east by the disaffection of the Magyars, as well as by the disappointment of the Croats and the Sclaves, who, fighting as they supposed for their individual nationalities, had assisted to rivet the shackles of despotism on themselves, but who now, regretting their past folly, were inclined to sympathize with the Hungarians in their sorrow, while they were stimulated in their discontent by Muscovite intrigue; and though conquering in Italy, she was still harassed on her western frontier by the free institutions and Italian leadership of the House of Savoy. She therefore sought compensation for these manifold misfortunes in the distracted state of the Germanic empire.

Felix, Prince of Schwartzenburg, the representative of an ancient Bohemian race of the name of Tzernagora, of which Schwartzenburg had been long adopted as a translation, was the minister to whom it fell to reconstitute the Austrian empire during its revival after the fearful trial through which it had passed. He had been brought up in the school of the great Austrian minister who for a quarter of a century had ruled its destinies, in the strictest doctrines of centralization and bureaucracy. Though holding the rank of general in the army, he had seen no active service. The revolutions which broke out in 1848 found him as ambassador at Naples, whence he had been forced

to withdraw by the insults which the mob had heaped on the representative of Austria. Thence he had joined the army of Radetzki; at that moment almost the last refuge of the Austrian empire. Assuming there the military character, he soon distinguished himself; gaining considerable reputation, and often exposing himself in the thick of the battle. In the autumn of 1848 he was sent by Radetzki on a mission to the court at Innspruck, to raise its tone and to confirm its drooping courage. Vienna had been subdued. Charles-Albert and the Hungarians were retreating. He soon drew upon himself the attention of the court by his skill and courage, and shortly became its chief adviser and minister. To his lot it fell to reorganize the empire by his iron will; against which neither humanity, justice, nor law could prevail; and also to form the mind of the young emperor of eighteen, who in this dark hour had been called to fill the throne. Hitherto Francis Joseph had been under the exclusive guidance of the Archduchess Sophia, whose political preferences and opinions the Prince of Schwartzenburg was noway inclined to counteract; and whose despotic principles instilled with maternal care into the mind of the young sovereign he was fully capable of appreciating. These principles were shortly, centralization and despotism at home; opposition to Lord Palmerston and aggrandizement to Austria abroad. Prince Schwartzenburg lived long enough to witness the temporary success of his policy, and died in time to avoid the troubles in which it has involved Europe (April 5, 1852), unlike the Roman statesman,

> Felix nimirum . . . quid Roma beatius unquam
> Si, circumlato captivorum agmine et omni
> Bellorum pompa, animam exhalasset opimam
> Cum de Teutonico vellet descendere curru?

It has been seen how, under this influence, Austria was

led to take a position in Germany eminently hostile to the Prussian monarch, who, recovering from the revolutionary fever, had endeavoured to counterpoise Austria in the east, by forming a league of states in the north of Germany, whom he was to lead, in which he was to be supported by Saxony and Hanover. A crowd of the petty German princes besides joined him. The two greater states, however, had scarce assented to the league when they fell away from him, his Erfurt assembly, and his subsequent congress of princes. In the south, Bavaria and Wurtemberg headed an alliance opposed either to the Austrian or Prussian monarch usurping the lead of the German empire. Austria, then acting upon the system of self-aggrandizement directed by its able and unscrupulous minister, profited by the differences which distracted the Teutonic race and their princes, and contrived in the first instance to establish a sort of interim congress of states, to take the place of the old diet of the Rhenish confederation, which had virtually abdicated its functions and power before the giant democracy in 1848.

This interim diet Austria several times reconstituted, and she eventually placed it fully in the position which the diet of the confederation had occupied before the outbreak, despite of the protests and menaces of Prussia: nay, not even content with its previous position, she increased her demands as the power of Prussia was humbled. We have seen how, taking advantage of the termination of the disreputable affair of the Holstein insurrection, when Prussia was paralyzed by the defeat of her illegitimate allies and army at Idstedt and before Frederickstadt, Austria marched her troops through the Prussian territories, and occupied Hamburg, Holstein, and the fortress of Rendsburg, as fiefs of the Empire. At first they were welcomed by the Danes as a protection, but no sooner had Prussia been overcome than the claims of the Germans on the Duchies

were revived, and with singular want of consistency and faith forced upon the Danes; thus increasing Austrian influence among the German race and people.

We have seen how in 1850, when the despotic behaviour of the Elector of Hesse led to his flight, how Austria and Bavaria joined their forces, reinstated him despite Prussian threats and Prussian troops, who having by virtue of treaties a military road through Hesse to their Rhenish provinces, had marched down their army to protect the parliament and people against the despotic will and minister of the Elector. The respective armies, encamped against each other, had already had an affair of outposts, when a few musket-shots were exchanged, and a German conflagration was on the point of breaking out on the banks of the Rhine; and for a while both parties seemed determined to persevere: at length, however Prussia was compelled unwillingly to submit. Nevertheless, her minister, M. Manteufel, contrived to give the convention of Olmütz the air of being more in accordance with Prussian pretension than was pleasing to the Austrian minister; who replied in a manner somewhat acrimonious, and perhaps accurate. In vain had Prussia ordered the mobilization of the landwehr regiments, and dragged the fathers of families from their homes, to what was anticipated would become the field of battle for Germany. In vain had the pacific policy of the Count of Brandenburg been cut short by his death; in vain was the warlike ardour of M. Radowitz, whom that minister had hitherto restrained. The condition of Prussia was such that M. Manteufel did not dare to rush on the chances of the last reason of Kings. At the last moment he gave in, and telegraphed to Prince Schwartzenburg to give him a meeting, for pacific purposes. In truth, however the minister might gloss it over, he was compelled to give way before the powerful diplomatic and armed alliance that Austria had brought

to bear. The parliamentary party in Hesse was abandoned. Prussia was to maintain, together with Austria, a force, if it so suited the Elector of Hesse, to preserve order; or, in other words, to put down by its bayonets the parties it had hitherto encouraged by its approval—a humiliation that one would have thought it might have escaped by minding its own business, and not meddling with other people's. By the same convention Prussia also abandoned the insurgent cause in Holstein; and in vain was M. Manteufel's explicatory memorial in disguising its humiliation.

Thus then the diplomacy of Prussia and Austria were at last united, outwardly at least, by the former giving way and abandoning all that had been struggled for; while the minor powers, perhaps, beheld the conjunction with some jealousy and alarm. In the year 1850 Austria had succeeded in emerging from her difficulties, in checkmating Prussia, and provisionally establishing, for practical purposes at least, the Diet at Frankfort in the condition very much in which it had existed previously to the explosion of 1848; of which Austria was the permanent president. So strong was the position which the convention of Olmütz gave to that state, that, having secured to itself this position, it at once advanced farther claims, requiring that the whole of its territories, German or not German, should be admitted to the confederation. Bohemia, a country no more German than Lombardy, was already considered in this respect as a German state; but to have admitted Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, Lombardy, &c. would have given to Austria such a preponderance as to be both unfair and unprofitable to the lesser states as well as to Prussia. It was a project, too, which excited the jealousy of Europe; and in consequence of European diplomatic interference it foundered.

In the following year the Diet was reestablished at Frank-

fort for the German Confederation, on the basis on which it had existed previous to 1848. But though the Austrian project thus fell to the ground, the idea was shortly afterwards reproduced in the form of a customs union, into which the whole of the Austrian states were to be admitted. And with a view to increase its influence in Germany, as soon as Prussia had been sufficiently humbled, Austria undertook to be the champion of the German fatherland, and insisted on Denmark complying with terms, which the Holstein insurrection, and the illegitimate Prussian cooperation, had been unable to extort, and succeeded in establishing the two duchies in a *quasi* independent position very inconvenient to Denmark, and not particularly politic for Europe: whose interest it is that that state should be strong enough to stand alone. England, too, was bound by guarantee to have assisted it: thus the Danes, our natural relatives and friends, were forced to seek the alliance and support of Russia. Indeed this appears to have been throughout the fallacy of English foreign policy, that it made insignificant quarrels, and paid no regard to previous guarantees or undertakings, either explicit or implied. Denmark, whom policy, promises, and kinsmanship, bound us to help, claims with which one would have supposed the minister's well-known anti-Austrian opinions would have led him to sympathize, was abandoned.

Sicily, whose institutions we ourselves had organized during the war, and which had been at its conclusion handed over to Naples on the undertaking to maintain those institutions which were popular in, and suited to the wants of, the island, after maintaining a heroic struggle, was abandoned to its fate; and its cause, defended by Mr Gladstone, became in this year the subject of acrimonious and undignified dispute. That gentleman had written an energetic, well-directed, but not quite accurate attack on the barbarities committed by the Neapolitan

government.' This pamphlet seemed a windfall to the foreign office, who forwarded it to all the diplomatic agents at foreign courts, requesting that it should be brought under the notice of the courts to which they were respectively accredited: a course upon which they animadverted in no measured terms, and against which Naples angrily protested: a course the more to be regretted, as perhaps savouring more of vapouring than of the courage, determination, or wisdom of a statesman. Very similar had been the policy in the Hungarian war. It was understood that the minister sympathized with the Magyars; but no distinct steps were taken. On the abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand, he did not recognise the government that Hungary had adopted, and which as an independent state it had an unquestionable right to adopt, as has been shown, by virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction. Such a course could not have been justly blamed, because it would have been a strictly legal one, and it might have been of considerable service to a cause with which England sympathized. He merely roused the jealousy of Austria, and cast her into the arms of Russia. The thing was done by halves, and done badly. Such seems to be the inevitable fate of English foreign policy. We lost the confidence of Austria by doubtful hostility, and that of the Magyars by dubious sympathy.

The destruction of the only mixed government of any historic prestige except our own, in Europe, and the conversion of the independent and free kingdom of Hungary into a province of the Austrian empire, supposing it accomplished, which it is not, can never be effected without converting a faithful and serviceable confederate under the same executive into a discontented and rebellious province. The attempt to accomplish it has so weakened Austria out of Germany, that she is neither capable of resisting the ponderous Russian Empire on the one side, nor of joining it

on the other: thus placing her in the diplomatic position of a doubtful, long-protracted, and humiliating neutrality. The certainty of a rebellion in Hungary, Croatia, and Lombardy stare her in the face if she join Russia in the present struggle. And Russian intrigue might not improbably lead to the same result if she joined the West. Nor is it impossible that Russia might intrigue for the re-establishment of an independent government in Hungary and Poland, by procuring the joint thrones for one of the Russian princes, as a check on Austria; a course which would also have the disadvantage of putting England in an unnatural opposition to the Hungarians. Were a Russian army to march on Vienna, and untie the knot which binds together the Austrian empire, such being the disposition on the part of the subject provinces, any attempt to reconstruct it must be futile. The destruction of the free government of Hungary, as well as the partition of Poland, has deprived the East of a barrier against northern ambition which will have to be reconstructed before Europe can enjoy any permanent security.

The constitution proclaimed at Olmütz in the end of 1849 was not satisfactory to the other struggling nationalities. Bohemia had no desire to be Germanized. The Croats had marched on Vienna and rebelled against Hungary, because they hoped to gain a distinct national existence to themselves. The very hopes and passions that the government had been compelled to flatter, in order to cajole them into assisting it to overcome the Hungarians, had now to be repressed. The Germans themselves are not particularly fond of being too intimately acquainted with the barbarian Croat soldiery, and much mutual neighbourly hatred exists between them. To the government itself the Constitution of Olmütz was not particularly agreeable, as it had a parliamentary appearance. So general was the disgust of all parties, that it was revoked

and remodelled. A constitution that can be so treated is of course of a nebulous consistency, and only a synonyme for an absolute government.

On the whole, perhaps the Magyars, who had been beaten, were less disgusted than those who had been seduced into helping to beat them. The study of the Magyar language and the spread of Magyar influence among the Slovacks and Croats have gone on to an extent that seriously annoys the Austrian government. The Magyars petitioned strongly against the introduction among them of functionaries, offices, and centralization; and even went so far as to recommend absolute government in preference to a general parliamentary rule.

Lombardy, proud of its Italian nationality, would have felt humiliated by sending deputies to Vienna, which would have seemed a sort of admission of being part of a German state; and, though not as loud in the expressions of dislike, was quite as hostile to the project as the other provinces. Absolute government, then, was practically restored; which oddly enough became a triumph to the Hungarians, who thus preserved in part their national existence and rights, and who began to entertain a hope that the government, hampered with many difficulties, would eventually restore things as they existed previous to 1848. Hungarian pride, too, was flattered by the governor being an imperial prince, while none of the other states of the empire were so honoured. The Magyars hoped that matters were going to turn eventually in their favour, and that they would regain their ancient provinces of Croatia, Servia, and Transylvania. For Austria can scarce please one set of her subjects without displeasing another. And thus, though she has regained her position in Germany, it is more by its weakness than by her own strength. From the disunion and discontent of her various subjects she is really by comparison powerless out of Germany.

The King of Prussia had, since 1848, not been always on the most friendly terms with the Czar. On the occasion when the Czar had received the young Emperor of Austria at Warsaw, the Prussian monarchy was not represented by the king himself, although some of the royal princes were present; for, though brothers-in-law, the one represented despotism, the other Germanism, and between the two courts the relations were anything but cordial. Thus they lasted till Austria, taking advantage of the strength of her position in Germany, attempted to overwhelm the German Confederation by the introduction of her non-German states.

This project was, as has been seen, heartily detested by Prussia, and it was only defeated by the interposition of the European powers, chiefly the Czar, who naturally watched with jealousy any attempt to Germanize the Sclave races—regarding them probably as his possible inheritance at some future period. Nor did he desire any such decided preponderance in the German Confederation as might lead to a distinct or consistent action, possibly to be exerted in opposition to himself. Thus interfering between Austria and Prussia to protect what the latter deemed to be her interest, he drew that kingdom into a stricter alliance with himself, and a greater dependence, as leaning on him to secure it against the encroachments of Austria. A reconciliation was made public by the presence of the King of Prussia at Warsaw in May 1851. By such means did Austrian intrigue and his own weakness force him into the hands of the Czar. The extra liberal sentiments which he had professed during the prevalence of the revolutionary fever had gradually evaporated, and though Prussia has retained the parliamentary phenomena, it has yet to be seen whether anybody has gained any practical advantage thereby. The old provincial diets have been convoked. The constitution which

had been agreed upon in January 1850, though it had been sworn to by the King, was not accepted by him with any particular marks of approbation. Considerable delays have taken place in carrying it into full execution. The government was certainly of a *quasi* conservative character, though divided into two sections, one inclined to advance, and the other to retrograde; the former led by M. Von Manteufel, and the latter by M. Von Westphalen. In Prussia then the effects of the convulsions of 1848 were evaporating, and the condition of the people in respect of functionary interference was not a whit improved. M. Manteufel represented the centralizing bureaucratic red tape Peelite (so to speak) element, and M. Westphalen the aristocratic. Both parties were, probably, equally selfish, but the red tape school was much the most inconvenient; for the aristocratic element tends to limited monarchy, the functionary regime to centralized despotism.

Abroad, the monarchs of Austria and Prussia, though on visiting, were on no friendly terms, for the attempt on the part of the former to negotiate a customs league was gravely resented by the latter, who, regarding himself as the head of the Zollverein, was much annoyed that any person should take the initiative on that subject but himself. A commercial rivalry thus succeeded to a political one, and the Czar was appealed to to decide the dispute, which he refused to do, saying he did not understand or care for the case—an excellent reason. The answer which Prussia made to the application of Austria was the admission to the Zollverein of another league in the north of Germany, consisting of Hanover, Oldenburg, and Schaunburg-Lippe, hostile to Austria. Thus the Czar's influence increased, being constantly appealed to to decide these quarrels: a position no doubt flattering to his pride and useful to his ambition, for it enabled him to influence

their external policy in favour of his designs of whatever description. Hence we have seen, through the present quarrel, the German states so placed as to be able to take no decided step; hampered on the one side by the fear and influence of the Czar, and on the other by the discontent of their own subjects.

The *coup d'état* which Louis Napoleon effected in December 1851, checked the revolutionary spirit, not only in France, but produced no inconsiderable effect in discouraging any attempts of the democrats whose principles were still fermenting in the rest of Europe. This event led to singular results in the United Kingdom. The Whig ministry were gradually growing weaker, and the Irishmen more intractable. During the period of the debates on the Ecclesiastical Titles bill, Mr Locke King had proposed a reform of parliament and an extension of the suffrage. It was a motion for which nobody cared; but by one of those accidents not uncommon in parliament, the first reading was carried by a majority of forty-eight. The reason was, that the mover had whipped his friends, and few took the trouble to come to vote against him. Altogether, the government was in such a difficulty, that it took the opportunity of retiring. Lord Derby was sent for, but such was the disorganization of the party which Peel had forsaken, that it was found unprepared for the event. Negotiations were opened with some of the Peelites, but it is understood that, stung with the vigorous invective of Mr D'Israeli, they refused to join any cabinet in which he sat. He was essential: so the negotiation failed. On the advice of the Duke of Wellington, Lord John was continued in office. These events occurred at the end of February 1851. When the *coup d'état* happened in Paris, Lord Palmerston, one of the most popular of the administration, still held the seals of the foreign office. Some grudge, it appeared, had long existed on the sub-

ject of his acting in respect of foreign affairs too independently of his colleagues—indeed, altogether ignoring their existence. He had in August incurred a remonstrance from the Queen, whom it did not appear the foreign minister was accustomed to admit into the arcana of foreign diplomacy, or any way take into his confidence. He, however, had promised amendment. Nevertheless, a cabinet council was held on the 3d of November, when it was resolved to maintain the strictest neutrality in foreign matters. Notwithstanding this, Lord Palmerston received, three days after, a deputation of Hungarian sympathizers; for M. Kossuth, having arrived from Turkey, and having on his way been prevented from passing through that curious, republican, evanescent phenomenon —France—had landed in this country, and was greeted with the unanimous applause of all who were ignorant of the condition of Hungary, *i. e.* the great mass of the British public, and some others: circumstances for which Austria took her revenge by a pettifogging interference with travelling cockneys and excursionist curates; a course neither dignified nor discreet. After all this popular shouting, Lord Palmerston's reception of the sympathizers was not, it is thought, regarded with complacency by his colleagues.

On the occurrence of the *coup d'état*, Lord Normanby wrote from Paris for instructions. Lord Palmerston replied, that he was not to alter his diplomatic position with respect to the French authorities. Of course some delay occurred in this communication reaching Paris. When Lord Normanby called on M. Turgot, the French minister for foreign affairs, to communicate this answer to him, he replied, that the delay was of less consequence, as he had previously heard from Count Walewski, the French ambassador at London, that he had called on Lord Palmerston, who had fully approved of all that Louis Napoleon

had done. This gave rise to some communications between the foreign minister and the ambassador. The latter complained that communications had been made to the French government not through him in the first instance, as well as differing from his instructions. Lord Palmerston declared, that what he had said to Count Walewski he considered as a private conversation, and that what had passed was the expression of his individual opinion; and stated, that his individual opinion was, that the President could not have acted otherwise. Considering this as a private explanation, he sent it to Lord Normanby without consulting his colleagues. Lord John Russell, on learning this, called together the rest of the cabinet, moved the expulsion of Lord Palmerston, went down to Windsor, got the assent of the Queen, and he was dismissed; a course perhaps neither reasonable nor prudent; for it appeared that Count Walewski had on the same morning called on each member of the cabinet, who had each expressed in private the precise opinion which Lord Palmerston had, not excepting his successor Lord Granville. But expressing an opinion in private and its coming to light are two separate matters. For some reason Whigs, Peelites, and newspapers vented a chorus of the most unmeasured and unjustifiable invective against Louis Napoleon, and seemed generally inclined to patronize any kind of rebel or any rebellion against him—a line of conduct of which Lord Palmerston disapproved at this particular juncture. The expulsion of the foreign minister on the part of the government seems to have been the less prudent, since Lord Palmerston a little later tilted them out of the saddle on the question of the militia bill.

The Whig ministry being thus turned out by one of its late members, was succeeded by Lord Derby, on the understanding that there was to be no opposition to the necessary business of the session. In consequence of

this arrangement, perhaps, more practical business was done and more reforms were passed than is usual in most sessions of parliament; while his foreign policy secured a cordial alliance with France on so firm a basis that it has resisted unshaken the invective or reluctance of succeeding ministers at home, and the intrigues of northern Europe abroad. Parliament was prorogued early, and dissolved, and the elections took place. The government gained, but not sufficiently to make the Irish brigade unnecessary to them. These gentlemen had hitherto given a sort of sulky support, because of their disgust with Lord John's Durham letter. When parliament met in December, after celebrating the obsequies of the illustrious commander, who had led our armies through one of the greatest wars on record, and lived to witness thirty years' peace, which the success of his arms had obtained, and died in time to avoid seeing the commencement of another war that appeared likely to be as important as that in which he had been engaged—the hostile parties, whose warfare had been suspended, not obliterated, by that event, returned to their disputes. Mr D'Israeli's budget was such as to unite many parties against him. He proposed to extend the house-tax to ten-pound houses, previously paid only on houses of twenty pounds value. This raised all *that* class against him, for they had too long enjoyed the privilege of imposing taxes they did not pay to relinquish that privilege: the borough members were many of them bullied by their constituents into voting against it or staying away. The Irish exposed to property-tax for the first time, struck a bargain with the Whigs, that if they helped to turn out the ministers, they would not burden Ireland with that impost. This was patriotically accomplished towards the end of December by an Irish majority. Lord Aberdeen succeeded, and his government did not think itself bound to adhere to the promises of the

Whigs, which had placed it in office—a lesson which will teach the Irish members to be more cautious in the wording of their bargains and with whom they make them.

Lord Aberdeen's antecedents and predilections were not supposed to be unfavourable to some of the ambitious views of the Czar, while towards the new-made Emperor of the French the tone of his cabinet was cold if not uncourteous. Scarce had the news of his accession to power reached St Petersburg, when Prince Menschikoff was sent on an embassy to the Porte, which ended fatally for the peace of Europe. The events which arose out of it are not within the scope of this work. On this subject, suffice it to say, that the revolutionary wave which passed over Germany in 1848, left few internal traces that were not obliterated by the end of 1851, either by the different monarchs themselves or by the Diet of the Confederation, and that its chief external result was to place both Austria and Prussia more under Russian influence. The policy which Austria has pursued during the present war is neither dignified nor heroic; but it is prudent to desire to profit by the difficulties of others. The apparent junction with the Western Powers in December 1854, was for the purpose of getting the German contingent mobilized, so as practically, in a military point of view, to introduce the whole Austrian Empire into the Confederation of the Rhine. Hence the Austrian differences with Prussia, which is equally hostile to the Western Powers and Austria, and is more subservient to Russia than Austria is. The agreement for the occupation of the Danubian provinces by Austria was a folly for which we have yet to pay.

If the present negotiations do not terminate in peace, it will be almost impossible for Austria to take either side with safety. Even if she eventually should declare on the side of the allies, she will continue to be as she has

hitherto been, a drag on their operations. Up to the present moment, Austria is still doubtfully neuter and Prussia doubtfully hostile; and under these circumstances, should hostilities be continued, it is in any one's power to judge whether they are not likely to remain so.

Thus by a singular fortune, the results of the commercial and financial policy of a great English statesman having in 1848 convulsed the states of Europe—the advent of his followers to power marks the period of the commencement of another convulsion, perhaps yet about to be more disastrous to Europe than the former. Such a coincidence is perhaps not unworthy of the consideration of those who, with a mistaken view to their own advantage, contributed to bring them into that position. "The incapacity of a weak and distracted government may often assume the appearance and produce the effects of a treasonable correspondence with the public enemy."

THE END.

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